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NEWSPAPER

Yet Administration Opposes 'Pool Bill'

U.S. Must Halt Radicals' Aid to Viet Cong

As Phillip Abbott Luce points out on page 8, a number of strange things happened during the recent turbulent hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Committee papers were "accidentally" picked up by an attorney for a hostile witness. A statement circulated by one of the leftists turned out to have been mimeographed in an Eastern congressman's office. And one pro-Viet Congnik, looking for all the world like a circus side-show artist, came to the hearings in an American Revolutionary War costume.

However, the most peculiar performance came not from the bearded radicals, but from Deputy Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, a sober and clean-shaven lawyer representing the Department of Justice.

The son of Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark, he spoke out with curious vigor in opposition to HCUA's "Pool" bill (H.R. 12047) which is now scheduled for a vote in the House.

Contrary to the impression conveyed by the liberal press, the hectic House committee hearings were not conducted with the aim of stifling the stentorian voices of those who merely shout their opposition to the Viet Nam war.

The broad purpose was to protect the American soldier against the Communist enemy. The specific aim was simply to lay the foundation for passage of a bill which would punish those who intend to furnish the Viet Cong enemy with material aid. Deeds, not words, were the target.

Originally introduced by Rep. Joe Pool (D.-Tex.), a HCUA subcommittee chairman, the bill, as now modified, would (1) make it a federal crime, punishable by a fine up to \$20,000 and/or imprisonment up to 20 years, for any person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States to furnish supplies to foreign nations or groups engaged in armed conflict with the United States; and (2) permit the federal government to fine up to \$5,000 and/or imprison for up to five years anyone who intends to or does obstruct, impede or interfere with the activities of the United States Armed Forces.

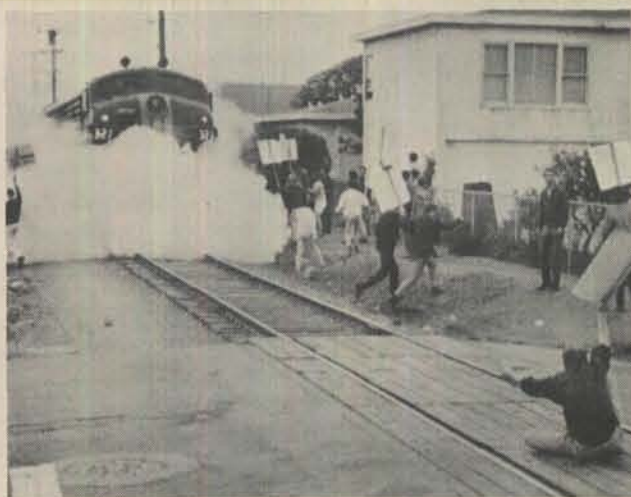
Why any normal American would oppose such a law is difficult to understand. HCUA, in fact, had every right to expect the Department of Justice to encourage the committee in formulating legislation to deal with those who are actively aiding the Viet Cong.

But Mr. Clark, not only for Justice but the Johnson Administration, obviously had other thoughts on the matter. With a supercilious air he calmly passed off the young Communist activity in this country as simply "eccentric behavior," and besides, he claimed, there were already laws on the books to cover the type of conduct the HCUA desired to forbid. That was that, as far as Clark was concerned.

What Clark likes to call the "eccentric behavior" of the pro-Viet Cong elements in this country, however, actually amounts to an extensive effort to aid the Communist enemy in Viet Nam with money and medical aid. The HCUA hearings painstakingly uncovered just how intense this activity was.

The now dissolved May 2nd Movement, for example, which had affiliated chapters on at least 20 campuses, carried on a widespread campaign to solicit money and medical aid for this country's mortal enemies in Viet Nam. An early "aid the Viet Cong" attempt, says HCUA, was made in March 1964 at Haverford College by Russell Stetler Jr., a student who later served as chairman of the May 2nd Movement.

Stetler founded at Haverford the Student Committee to Send Medical Aid to the Front of National Liberation of South Viet Nam, and toured a number of colleges on the East Coast to establish



Members of the Viet Nam Day Committee attempt to halt troop trains in Berkeley, Calif., in 1965. Bottom photo shows a peacenik getting out of the way just in time. Such harassing incidents are still taking place.

similar groups. (Stetler is now aiding Lord Bertrand Russell in convening an international tribunal to convict the United States leaders of war crimes in Viet Nam.)

Another pro-Viet Cong group, Committee to Aid the Vietnamese People, was formed at the University of Michigan in March 1965. Its leader, Stanley Nadel, declared just five months later that he and a number of University of Michigan students had collected and personally delivered to agents of the National Liberation Front in Algiers the sum of \$100 for the purchase of medical supplies.

In April 1965 the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam, organized in New York City's Greenwich Village by Walter Teague, widely solicited contributions of money to buy medical supplies. The funds were to be forwarded directly to addresses of agencies of the National Liberation Front in Hong Kong, Prague, Paris, Algiers and Moscow. The Free University of New York also joined in this campaign.

In October and November of 1965, medical aid committees for Viet Nam were formed at Stanford University and at the University of California at Berkeley. The Berkeley committee actually made payments totaling \$1,500 to the Liberation Red Cross (Viet Cong) in January and February of 1966 by drafts purchased from the Berkeley bank and drawn on the Czech Obchodni Bank in Prague.

These examples touch on only a part of the domestic effort to furnish aid to the Viet Cong. The House Committee on Un-American Activities relates that "Communist publications, including the *Worker*, a publication of the Moscow-controlled Communist party, have circularized the addresses of agencies abroad through which money and medical supplies could be forwarded to North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong. Neither the Justice Department nor this committee has been able to determine the precise amount transmitted abroad resulting from the com-

bined efforts of the various Communist and Communist organizations."

The HCUA hearing also took note of the efforts to prevent the movement of American troop trains. The Vietnam Day Committee in California, for example, organized intensive activity to bring these trains to a halt. The most massive attempt took place on Aug. 12, 1965, with the VDC distributing leaflets which bore in bold print: "Stop the Troop Train."

About 300 persons gathered in the Santa Fe station on University Avenue in Berkeley. Coordinating their moves through the use of walkie-talkies, the demonstrators, on a signal from their leaders, suddenly broke into small groups, in an effort to avoid the police officers who were trying to prevent the train from being stopped.

"They walked and ran up the tracks approximately a mile," noted the committee, "so that they would be spread out and harder to control by the police. Demonstrators sat on the tracks, others lay down on the tracks and the train was forced practically to a halt, at which time several demonstrators leaped on the train and an attempt was made to use the braking mechanism to stop the train itself from proceeding."

Further plans were laid by the VDC to block the entrances to the Oakland Army Terminal with the purpose of closing down its operations.

As recently as August 1966, demonstrations were held at Port Chicago in which the VDC participated. An estimated 200 demonstrators were at the scene and endeavored to block the movement of trucks carrying munitions into the port for shipment to our troops in Viet Nam. Each time a truck approached the gate, demonstrators appeared and lay down in its path. A number of Marines were taken from their normal duties to carry off demonstrators.

So much for Clark's description of such behavior as "eccentric." What about his claim that present laws cover this sort of treasonous conduct?

While executive agencies have stressed there is "no need" for legislation, they have, in fact, confessed their inability to prosecute anyone under available statutes. Indeed, if existing statutes apply, why hasn't the Justice Department indicted anyone?

Edwin Meese III, deputy district attorney of Alameda County, Calif., testified before the committee that neither federal nor state law was adequate to provide an effective or appropriate base for prosecution of efforts to halt such serious offenses as occurred in California. Under the provisions of the Pool bill, he said, there could be effective prosecution.

When asked whether the proposed bill raised any question of federal infringement upon state power or obligation, Meese stressed that protection of federal military forces was a matter within the federal sphere.

America has poured its young men and vast sums of money into the war in Viet Nam. As an important part of this battle, the Administration should obviously be keenly interested in halting material aid to the enemy. But just as the United States appears unconcerned with shutting off the unceasing flow of oil and other commodities to the Viet Cong via Haiphong harbor, so, apparently, does it seem unconcerned with blocking a massive domestic effort to aid Ho Chi Minh's warriors.

The funds, the blood and the goods that go into the welcoming arms of the Viet Cong may not be enormous. But who will argue that they don't aid the Viet Cong, both physically and psychologically, in resisting American military efforts, thereby prolonging the war and increasing American casualties?

The Administration may be unconcerned about domestic radicals furnishing supplies to the Communist enemy, but the American public doesn't have to be. Why not write your congressman and senators and ask them to support the Pool bill (H.R. 12047)?

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Bobby Kennedy has amassed the largest staff on Capitol Hill, larger than that of the vice president or the congressional leaders. During the second quarter of 1966, Kennedy listed 80 persons on his Senate staff, compared with 34 on Humphrey's staff, 15 on Majority Leader Mansfield's and 45 on Minority Leader Dirksen's.

● Sen. George Murphy (R-Calif.) recently had a tumor removed from his throat, but doctors are confident they removed all of the malignant tissue and expect the senator to be back on the job next week.

● Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway (R-Ga.) last week filed petitions bearing 150,000 signatures to secure a place on the ballot for Georgia governor. Correspondent Joseph Baird wrote in the *Washington Post* that polls give the handsome young Republican a better than even chance of winning. Callaway's likely Democratic opponent is former Gov. Ellis Arnall, a one-time "boy wonder" who has not won elective office in two decades.

● Capitol Hill politicians are getting a kick out of Allen Drury's *Capable of Honor*, his newest novel in which he unleashes one of the most savage assaults on the liberal establishment to date. Columnist Walter Lippmann is irreverently referred to as "Walter Wonderful," and a character who bears a resemblance to Arthur Schlesinger Jr. is described as an "arrogant little professor who had once served as court historian to the most self-conscious Administration in American history and had never recovered from it."

● The National Student Association's 19th Congress has urged the nation's young men to employ "legal resistance" to being drafted. In a resolution approved by a 210-112 vote August 31, NSA said it believes "no government should be allowed the power to compel its citizens to kill." The delegates, representing 285 colleges, agreed that the draft should be employed only during a national emergency and that those of draft age should be given the option of serving in a non-military capacity.

● Oregon Gov. Mark Hatfield, now in a tense race for the Senate with Rep. Robert Duncan (D-Ore.), has committed what some politicians are calling a fatal mistake: He signed his name to a full-page advertisement which calls for a "cessation of U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam" and urges "immediate steps to disengage our country from this fateful military adventure." Hatfield contributed \$1 toward the cost of the advertisement. Some are saying Duncan may win on this issue alone.

● The American Legion last week called for prosecution of Yale Prof. Staughton Lynd, Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker, "New Left" wheelhorse Tom Hayden and others who have defied U.S. travel bans to visit North Viet Nam. Other resolutions adopted by the veterans' group asked for legislation to make desecration of the flag a federal offense and investigations of the Vietnam Day Committee, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union.

● The New York Times disclosed last week that the estranged wife of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) had complained that her congressional paychecks were being cashed—by someone else. Mrs. Powell is carried on the payroll of her husband at \$20,578 a year. The debonair congressman-minister later solved the mystery. He told a newsman that he was taking the checks and depositing them in his personal account because he does not have a joint checking account.

● Rev. Donald A. Poling last week released results of a poll that thoroughly rebukes the National Council of Churches for advocating the recognition of Red China. Nearly 30,000 Protestant clergymen participated in the scientifically based survey, which disclosed that 71.4 per cent were opposed to Peking's recognition or admission to the United Nations. The same poll showed that 93.7 per cent of the ministers were opposed to the "expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations in order to satisfy Communist Chinese conditions for joining."

● Secret Service agents last week arrested a young New York leftist for allegedly threatening the life of the President during a Washington rally sponsored by the Communist-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. Robert Watts, 18, reportedly told a workshop on "police brutality" that if drafted he would refuse to serve. Det. Sgt. Harold W. Shoemaker monitored Watts' speech and later testified: "If he was forced to serve [Watts said], and if they gave him a rifle, the first one he would like to have in his sights at the end of the rifle would be LBJ."

● Recently retired Ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer is taking up the "soft line" about the war in Viet Nam. Returning to the United States, Reischauer said we should never have gotten into the battle and claimed there's really nothing to fear from Red China, which represents only "somewhat of a problem" to her neighbors and will, he suggested, mellow in time.

● Former Vice President Richard Nixon last week demanded the Administration take positive steps to win the war in Viet Nam. He said the United States should withdraw all aid and refuse to trade with any nation engaged in commerce with North Viet Nam. "Let our allies decide which side they want to trade with," he said. If that failed to isolate North Viet Nam, Nixon said, the next move would be the mining or blockading of Haiphong, the enemy's chief port. Nixon brushed aside warnings that the Red Chinese would then enter the war. Peking has not entered the war up to now, Nixon said, "because it is a fourth-rate military power."

● The New York Daily News disclosed last week that Communist party leaders are now staging a two-week training camp for leading young Reds. The top-secret session is under way at Camp Webatuck, 80 miles north of New York City. Members of the faculty include identified Communists Danny Rubin, George Meyers, Henry Winston, Hyman Lumer, James Jackson and Helen Winters.

● Many conservatives in Minnesota are saying that Dr. Henry Johnsen, 43, running for the GOP Senate nomination, would have a better chance than his primary opponent, Republican State Convention-endorsed candidate Bob Forsythe, to unseat liberal Democratic Sen. Walter Mondale in November. The Minnesota primary is September 13.

CAPITAL BRIEFS

The GOP Liberal Blues

Conservatives in the Nation's Capitol are taking heart at the gloom and dismay exuded by a liberal GOP coalition called The Council of Republican Organizations. Composed of such groups like the Ripon Society and the Committee for Forward Looking Republicans, CRO released last week a nationwide survey and analysis of potential conservative strength at the 1968 Republican National Convention.



GOLDWATER

The survey was undertaken shortly after former Sen. Goldwater predicted on national television that between 75 and 80 per cent of the delegates to the 1968 convention would be conservatives. It was released following reports of efforts by Goldwater to unify four conservative political groups and of a semi-secret meeting last week in Washington, D.C. between leaders of conservative groups and former Vice President Richard Nixon.

"On the basis of the evidence from the past two years," CRO concludes, "there is little reason to believe that the Republican party of 1968 and its national nominating convention will look much different from 1964. Whatever the justice of the situation, the burden of producing change in the Republican party after 1964 rests with moderate Republicans. We have forfeited fully one half the time available to reshape the Republican party of 1968."

Here are some of the CRO findings:

- No "moderate Republican of national stature" has exerted leadership or "a sustained voice in national Republican affairs since 1964." On the other hand, moans CRO, Sen. Goldwater has "maintained an active national political role." Conservatives, it laments, "have already begun national promotion for Ronald Reagan, the Republican gubernatorial candidate in California."

- The unity drive led by former Vice President Richard Nixon and the Republican National Committee under chairman Ray Bliss has "seriously undercut the motivation of many moderate Republicans to fight for party control." In California, especially, the "moderates" failed to gain control of the state organization because of "Parkinson's Law" (State Chairman Gaylord B. Parkinson's injunction to speak no ill of a fellow Republican).

- The Republican Governors' Association (which is already liberally inclined) had "failed since its reconstitution in December 1964 to develop an effective Washington office or national voice. The recent primary defeat of Gov. Robert Smylie of Idaho, chairman of the RGA, by a conservative Republican was



Kuchel, Lindsay and Rockefeller: Is their influence in the Republican party waning?

a serious blow to the governors, who are not scheduled to meet again until mid-December.

"The possible election by then of Goldwater-conservative governors from California to Georgia, while small in number, would further limit the potential of the RGA as a base for moderate Republicans."

- The CRO wept additional bitter tears over the ideological shape of the Republicans in Congress. Liberal Republican senators have "developed no continuing liaison and Sen. Thomas Kuchel's leader-

ship faces serious challenge. In the House of Representatives, Goldwater conservatives led by Congressman Melvin Laird of Wisconsin had consolidated control of new leadership posts gained after 1964 and threaten to gain more. The moderate Republican Wednesday Group has lost key members such as Congressmen Lindsay, Tupper and Ellsworth. In virtually all the congressional primary contests, with the exception of Michigan, former conservative members of Congress attempting comebacks have defeated their moderate Republican opponents."

- No liberal Republican organizational effort has begun in the South, which "delivered Goldwater a

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

nearly solid delegate vote in 1964. Two members of CRO have completed a thorough study of eleven Southern states, but the recommendations of the report are not being implemented by party leaders.

- "The California delegation of some 100 votes is now all but delivered to the Reagan-conservative wing of the California Republican party. The California primary in 1968, in the view of CRO, affords an even greater hurdle for liberal Republicans than it did in 1964."

- The rules of the 1968 convention, notes the CRO document, will reward those states that were most strongly pro-Goldwater in 1964 and penalize those states that lost votes and GOP officeholders due to the Goldwater nomination. Liberal Republicans, it insists, "have lost strength proportionally on important party bodies."

Such is the dark outlook for the GOP liberals as they, themselves, have envisioned it.

Civil Rights Probe?

House members continue to demand a probe of militant Negro "civil rights" groups in the wake of the Cleveland grand jury report revealing that black nationalists and Communist elements worked hand in hand to stir up racial violence in the city's Hough area. Particularly alarming to members of Congress is the way in which Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, eggs his followers on to pursue the path of violence.

Carmichael, for example, recently stormed into the tense racial atmosphere in the Anacostia section of Washington, D.C., and publicly urged Negroes to burn down the Nation's Capital if they don't get home rule. He was hardly less militant when he arrived in New York City about a week later.

Speaking to a Harlem rally of militant Negro leaders, Carmichael remarked: "In Cleveland they're building stores with no windows—all brick. I don't know what they think they'll accomplish. It just means we have to move from Molotov cocktails to dynamite."

Speakers at the rally, a benefit for SNCC, were guarded by members of the Black Panther party in uniform. Max Stanford, a leader of the Panthers, told a crowd of 250 at the Mt. Morris Presbyterian church that the United States could be revolutionized with "a rag, some gasoline and a bottle."

Tocsin's Tale of HHH

The West Coast's anti-Communist publication, *Tocsin*, reports that Vice President Hubert Humphrey and his protege, Eugene P. Foley, head of the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration, have intervened on behalf of one of "the most militant civil rights leaders ever to agitate" in the state of California.



HUMPHREY

According to *Tocsin*, without top-level governmental intervention, Mark Comfort, alias Mark Moody, "would be serving time on a conviction growing out of a racial demonstration in 1964." *Tocsin* says that Foley made a "visit incognito to Comfort at the Alameda County Rehabilitation Center at Santa Rita during Comfort's recent imprisonment. Shortly thereafter Comfort's appeal for probation was granted by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas pending a future decision by a full court. The appeal, forwarded by Comfort's attorney, identified Communist Robert Treuhart of Oakland, received an approving nod from Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey."

Why all the eagerness to aid Comfort? Foley, says *Tocsin*, described Comfort as the man who "appears to be the emerging Negro leader in Oakland."

"Only last April Foley authorized \$14.139 million in public works grants and \$9.15 million in public works loans to the Port of Oakland and the city."

"The funds are earmarked for relief of unemployed persons in areas in which Comfort knows his way around."

Comfort's background is a matter of public record, says *Tocsin*. In the May 24, 1965, *Spider Magazine* Comfort wrote: "The capitalists are going to force the issue of violence upon us whether we want it or not. They're not going to give up the big, beautiful thing they've had for so many years without some type of struggle. Though capitalism is falling—there is no doubt it will fall—they are going to fight to the bitter end. . . ."

"I was really pleased with Harlem. The people there know who their enemies are, they know who they have to fight, they don't think that the black man will be free until imperialism is destroyed, and they're organizing. . . ."

"It's going to take the people to make the revolution. . . . And it doesn't matter what kind of government it is, just so long as it isn't a capitalist, Fascist government. That's what counts."

Comfort, says *Tocsin*, was arrested on numerous occasions in the 1950s for "battery, burglary and petty theft." He also has numerous Communist-front connections. "The son of a Cuba-born mechanic," adds *Tocsin*, "Comfort is wed to the former Gloria Black, daughter of identified Oakland Communists Robert Ogg Black and Gladys Black."

Sylvester's Memory Lapse

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester, whose name is synonymous with managed news, may have had a weird sort of mental blackout while testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week. It seems he couldn't recall the name of Col. William J. McGinty whose name came up in a discussion of news coverage of the Viet Nam war.

McGinty, a career Air Force officer, was relieved last month as director of information with the 7th Air Force in Viet Nam and was reassigned to the United States. According to news stories "orders from the top" came down to exclude him from further public relations duty because he disagreed with the manner in which Defense Department public information officials released news to reporters.

When Sylvester was asked if he recalled the McGinty incident, he appeared not to have ever heard of him. He said, furthermore, that Air Force assignment policies are not under his jurisdiction.

Reached at his Pentagon office afterwards, Sylvester acknowledged knowing of a Col. McGinty but

said he met him for the first and only time at Fort Worth, Tex., during a publicity ceremony unveiling the controversial TFX fighter plane. He said he had no dealings with McGinty since.

Yet the truth appears to be that Sylvester knew McGinty far more extensively than he let on. William Hines, a Washington Evening Star reporter, directly contradicted Sylvester's tale. "The fact that Sylvester and McGinty have been acquainted is well known to many reporters who cover military and aerospace affairs," said Hines.

For several years his duties made "close and frequent contact with top Pentagon publicists inevitable." Sylvester, of course, is the top Pentagon PR man.

For two days in October 1964, at the time of the TFX unveiling at Fort Worth, Sylvester and McGinty were in almost constant contact. Associates of McGinty, said Hines, related that Sylvester came to call the Air Force officer "Mac"—a usage he continued as long as McGinty remained in the United States. "Actually," said Hines, "Sylvester and McGinty not only worked together in Fort Worth, but met from time to time in Sylvester's office, according to persons present at some of those meetings."

Hines reported further: "News of Sylvester's denial of acquaintance with McGinty was greeted with shock and incredulity at Andrews Air Force Base yesterday afternoon. . . ."

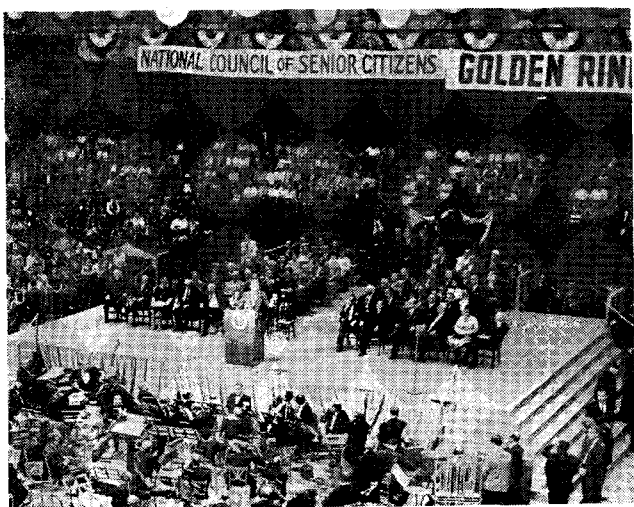
Sylvester received national attention when he said the government had a right to lie. In recent weeks, he has been quoted as saying that one should not expect to hear the truth from government officials.

Council of Senior Demos

The view hammered home by *Human Events* that the so-called National Council of Senior Citizens is nothing but an adjunct of the Democratic party has been substantiated by a blistering attack against the council by Kenneth O. Gilmore in the *Reader's Digest*.

In Gilmore's view, the council, composed of those 65 and over, has turned into a "pressure organization which, by the record of its own words and actions, is actually little more than a political pawn of the current Administration. . . it parades as a 'non-partisan' group and is permitted to enjoy tax exemption, yet works hand in glove with one party, pummels its members with Great Society propaganda and promotes even-larger federal ventures which too often are not even remotely helpful to the elderly."

Formed in 1961 by Rep. Aime J. Forand, who had put together an impressively effective Senior Citizens



In May 1962 President Kennedy addressed a mass rally of the NCSC in Madison Square Garden.

for Kennedy Committee, the council had the swift support of the AFL-CIO and other liberal unions, and became instrumental in pushing through Medicare.

Its non-partisan stance, stresses Gilmore, is only a "facade." Over a "four-year period the Democratic National Committee had been quietly pumping thousands of dollars into the council's coffers. During 1962 and 1963 the pipeline fed in \$45,000 and in the next two years \$50,000 more was contributed to the kitty. These political subsidies have never been mentioned in the council's monthly newspaper."

The council has claimed it "had a hand in ensuring" that four members of the House Ways and Means Committee "were rejected by their constituents" in

the 1962 and 1964 elections—though Internal Revenue Service rules specify that "participation in a political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to a candidate for public office will preclude tax exemption."

Headed by President John W. Edelman, a former lobbyist for the Textile Union in Washington, the council also tried to line up its members in the Administration drive to get Congress to repeal right-to-work. At a gala luncheon at the White House this June, a council official appealed for the reelection of 55 Democratic congressmen in marginal districts.

Gilmore suggests the council should drop its non-partisan cover and register as a "lobbyist for either the AFL-CIO or the Democratic party."

• *Electricians hooked up a cable system in the Austin apartment of Pat and Luci Nugent last week so they can receive 10 channels on their TV set. Austin has only one VHF station, one UHF station and one educational channel. The new cable will allow the Nugents to get programs from Waco, Temple and San Antonio stations, too. Owner of the single TV station in Austin is Pat Nugent's father-in-law.*

Tax Hike?

The LBJ inflationary economy continues to cause much worry for Administration officials at the moment. In a recent television program, AFL-CIO president George Meany, whose words are often a harbinger of things to come, says the White House may be forced to propose mandatory controls over wages and prices "a couple of months from now."

Inflationary signs have so scared the Administration that it now seems likely there will be some sort of tax hike even before the November election. Last week, one of the highest Administration officials—who refused to permit attribution to him—predicted passage of a bill this year raising taxes.

Business will probably be the first sector of the economy to feel the brunt of a tax hike. LBJ, say informed observers, plans to send a bill to Congress that will suspend the 7 per cent tax credit now given businesses on expenditures for machinery and equipment.

Republicans are expected to take a vigorous stand in opposition to any such maneuver. Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), the GOP leader in the Senate, has already announced he is opposed to repeal of the tax credit. His counterpart in the House, Rep. Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.), says the best way for the Administration to prevent inflation is not through a tax hike, but a solid reduction in government spending—a policy long advocated by Ford and Dirksen.

Aiding Soviet Intelligence

Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.), an inveterate foe of trading with the enemy, has assailed the Department of Commerce for authorizing shipment to the Soviet Union of 2,000 Coast and Geodetic Survey charts for use by Soviet fishing trawlers. The charts, which cover areas off the coast of the state of Washington and an area south of Alaska, have already been shipped.

Remarks the California congressman: "Coast and Geodetic Survey charts contain valuable information and data concerning offshore areas of significance and are valuable both for intelligence and fishing purposes. In view of present world conditions, it is incredible that this has taken place."

The Soviet Union, notes Lipscomb, operates a huge fleet of so-called fishing trawlers. The size of the fleet, it is estimated, numbers up to 25,000 vessels. These vessels operate in waters throughout the world and it is widely recognized that in addition to fishing, the Soviet trawlers have many other intelligence gathering and military type duties.

Soviet trawlers have been spotted off our coasts on numerous occasions and it is believed they perform a wide range of duties, including observing weapons testing, monitoring military communications, watching fleet exercises and surveillance of our space program activities.

Lipscomb also reports that "radioactive devices of Soviet manufacture have been discovered embedded on the ocean floor along both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of North America. These markers, it is explained, are position markers placed there by trawlers which could be used by Soviet submarines to aid in firing at inland targets.

"Trawlers can be used to put foreign agents and equipment ashore in remote, unpatrolled areas."

Furthermore, says Lipscomb, the Soviets are currently enlarging their fishing program and are taking heavy catches off the West Coast of the United States, along Washington and Oregon.

In view of all the above, he asks, why should the United States issue these valuable charts which undoubtedly will be of great assistance to the Soviets in their many intelligence and fishing activities?

McCloskey's Contract

Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) has uncovered still another "windfall" profit for McCloskey and Co., the Philadelphia construction firm headed by Matthew McCloskey, long-time Democratic fund-raiser. The Delaware solon reports that the firm was awarded a \$15.8-million contract for construction of a Detroit post office in 1959.



WILLIAMS

Two years later, after the building was "all but completed and the post office about ready to move in," according to Williams, the contract was changed so that the government instead of McCloskey assumed all maintenance on the 10-story administration building and adjoining five-story mail-handling facility.

Williams quotes from a report of the watchdog General Accounting Office highly critical of the switch: "On the basis of the above figures, we estimate that the assumption of maintenance by the government will result in the Post Office Department's cost of maintenance being \$2.8 million more over the basic 30-year lease than if maintenance had remained the responsibility of the lessor [McCloskey] in accordance with the terms of the agreement to lease. Moreover, indeterminate but apparently substantial additional costs may be incurred in the future by the Post Office Department for replacement of building equipment, such as air-conditioning equipment."

Williams earlier had criticized the Detroit post office lease because it cost the government "millions of dollars more" by having McCloskey build it and lease it to the post office than if the government had built the facility itself.

Under the lease, McCloskey built the post office for \$15.8 million, then rented it to the government for \$1.8 million a year. After 30 years, the government will have paid \$54 million in rent and have the option of purchasing the building for \$11 million, Williams says.

Minimum Wage

House Republicans say they will oppose the Senate-House conference compromise on a bill which would raise the \$1.25-an-hour minimum wage to \$1.60 in 1968 and extend coverage to more than 8 million more workers. GOP lawmakers said they would seek to get the House to reject the compromise version and send it back to conference with instructions to delay the \$1.60 floor until 1969. That was the way the House had originally voted; the Senate fixed the date at 1968 and prevailed in conference.

The conference compromise is seen as a big victory for LBJ and, if it sticks, will boost his stock with Big Labor which has felt the Johnson Administration has let it down on previous legislative battles.

• *The Chicago Tribune reports that members of LBJ's National Teachers Corps may be paid salaries up to 40 per cent higher than regular teachers for doing the same work.*

LBJ Has Set Up 15 'Little Cabinets' Nationwide

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is setting up what amounts to a nationwide system of "little cabinets" in major cities.

In a series of executive orders, little-noticed Federal Executive Boards are being created and empowered to oversee, coordinate and promote "Great Society" programs on the local level.

These "little cabinets," whose chairmen have direct telephone links with the White House, are composed of top federal officials in each city.

Fifteen of these boards are now functioning in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Atlanta, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Paul-Minneapolis, Kansas City, St. Louis, Dallas-Fort Worth, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle and Honolulu.

Under plans now on the President's desk, another half-dozen of these federal boards will be established in other large cities as soon as Congress passes the Administration's \$2.3-billion demonstration cities legislation. This measure has passed the Senate and is awaiting action by the House.

Once that huge spending program is under way, the President intends to assign \$25,000-a-year "federal expeditors," authorized by the legislation, to work with each "little cabinet." Their joint job will be to mobilize and coordinate federal and local activities aimed

at wiping out slums and increasing employment.

Government information centers, similar to the experimental one opened last month in Atlanta, Ga., will be set up to assist the boards.

Also contemplated are "speaker's bureaus" that will utilize government officials to explain and propagate programs and activities, and community relations committees made up of federal and local officials who will tackle such problems as crime and unemployment.

A White House memorandum to all federal agencies defined the mission of these boards as follows:

"Working to advance national programs by creating a greater federal community of interest, by promoting coordination and programs across agency lines, and by conducting joint projects to achieve greater efficiency and economy, and establishment of liaison with local governments."

Stressing that "the FEBs represent a new departure in top government management," the memo continues:

"Growing out of an idea of the late President Kennedy, the boards embody a dynamic approach toward improving relations between the various federal departments and agencies and local governments outside of the national capital area.

"The boards represent a determined

effort to let the right hand of government know what the left is doing and to coordinate the activities of both with local governments.

"The mandate given FEBs is one of wide dimensions, but with two principal responsibilities: information and operational. The activities of the boards can be almost unlimited in scope.

"The late President Kennedy saw the FEB as resembling a 'regional cabinet' whose members had leadership responsibilities in their particular agencies and in the federal community, properly relating and coordinating their own programs to the complex and interrelated federal government of today."

Kennedy's original concept of "regional cabinets" has been changed by Johnson to apply to cities. Under this plan, he is concentrating on metropolitan rather than regional areas.

White House sources indicate it's very probable the President will "drop in" on meetings of these "little cabinets" this fall during his campaign swings around the country.

In the meanwhile, latest instructions to the FEBs are to concentrate on improving cooperation with local governments and youth training and anti-poverty programs.

Information on these projects is being sent to the boards for their guidance and dissemination.

Membership in the "little cabinets" ranges from 68 in New York to 33 in Cleveland. Each has a chairman chosen by the members for a one-year period. Other officers are a vice chairman and a policy committee.

Under their presidential charters, the boards must meet at least once a month, preferably oftener. Reports on activities must be sent regularly to the White House.

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AIRCRAFT SHORTAGE — The Senate Preparedness subcommittee charged recently that Pentagon shortsightedness and delays in meeting Viet Nam demands had reduced the Tactical Air Command to a role of training rather than combat. In a unanimous report, the subcommittee cited a shortage of airplanes, crews and spare parts. "The shortage of crews would be a more serious problem were it not for a shortage of aircraft," the report said.

New Problems in the Congo

By RUSSELL KIRK

Another upheaval has commenced in the Congo. Gen. Mobutu, president-dictator, is in grave trouble, and the star of Moise Tshombe (at present exiled in Europe) rises again.

The immediate cause of the chaos is the failure of Gen. Mobutu's ineffectual government to pay the best troops in the government's service—the Katanga Gendarmes and the white soldiers of fortune.

"Pay the soldiers: the rest do not matter," was the advice of the dying Emperor Septimius Severus, many centuries ago, to his sons. Having failed to pay the soldiers, Gen. Mobutu either will have to conciliate Moise Tshombe by readmitting him to a share in power, or will face the prospect of destruction. At the very least, Tshombe's country of Katanga will secede afresh from the Congo, unless Mobutu can tardily make large concessions to the vigorous Katangans.

It was Tshombe's Katanga Gendarmes who—with the European mercenaries—put down the terrible Simba rebellion in 1964 and 1965. These seasoned troops have been garrisoned in Kisangani (formerly Stanleyville) and the north-eastern Congo for nearly two years. They want to be paid, and they want to go home to Katanga.

They, with 200 white adventurers, have seized Kisangani, and they are preparing to trek a thousand miles southward—crushing all government opposition in their path—to their own capital now called by the government (to their vexation) "Lumbumbashi," but better known as Elizabethville.

Along the Katangans' intended line of march, the Congolese National Army troops are fleeing into the bush, knowing they cannot stand against this for-

midable body of more than 2,000 veterans, with some white officers. In Elizabethville, Mobutu has a garrison; but the civil governor, Godefroid Munongo, is Tshombe's friend and former minister of the interior. As things are drifting, within a few weeks—if not sooner—Tshombe should be able to fly into Elizabethville and set up a new independent Katanga government, if he chooses.

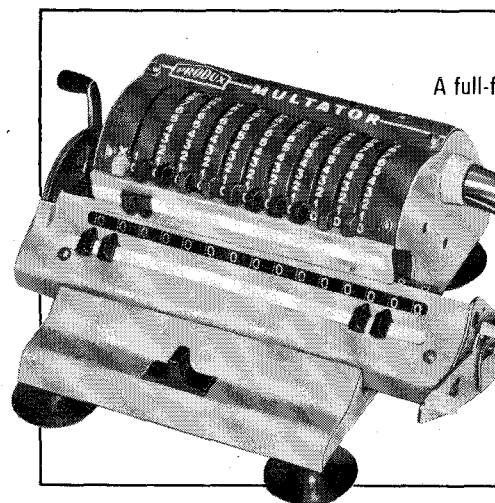
The United Nations "Peace Force," with American advice and material aid, overthrew Tshombe's government at Elizabethville three and a half years ago. But the United Nations suffered so dreadfully in reputation and finances from that unfortunate intervention in the Congo's affairs that there is no chance of a second U.N. expeditionary force.

Mobutu must stand or fall by himself, for the Belgian government now fears him: a trickle of American military and economic aid is Mobutu's only prop, and the Viet Nam war prevents Washington from further involvement, even were the Johnson Administration so inclined.

For the ravaged Congo (where the remnants of the Simbas are active again, now that the Katanga Gendarmes are concentrated at Stanleyville), the best prospect possible is a reconciliation of Mobutu and Tshombe. Months ago this commentator suggested that with Mobutu as president, and Tshombe as premier, gradually order and comparative prosperity might be restored. Yet what with Mobutu having hanged several former cabinet ministers, Tshombe may be reluctant to resume residence virtually next door to the general who, without cause, recently denounced him as a traitor.

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The 'Rat Finks' and the Big Smear

Although unable to prove charges of racism and anti-Semitism, liberal Young Republicans would not relent until Richard Plechner resigned.

By DAVID FRANKE

Editor of *The New Guard*, the magazine of Young Americans for Freedom (September 1966 issue)

In the struggle for the Republican party, both conservatives and liberals have understood the importance of the Young Republican National Federation. It was the Young Republicans who, under conservative guidance, provided much of the leadership and troops and enthusiasm leading to the Goldwater victory of the 1964 GOP national convention.

Party liberals, therefore, were desperate enough in their attempt to retrieve control of the YRs to form a coalition last year with dissident right-wing Young Republicans from California. Together they opposed the conservative candidate for Young Republican national chairman, Kansas state Sen. Tom Van Sickle, at the June 1965 convention of the YRs at Miami Beach. Their strange coalition was resoundingly defeated and Van Sickle walked off with an easy victory.

Rebuffed by the rank and file of the nation's Young Republicans, the senior party liberals—led by Sen. Hugh Scott and GOP State Chairman Craig Truax of Pennsylvania—have turned to other methods in their drive to take over the Young Republicans. Efforts are being made to remove the YRs' autonomy and place them under the supervision of GOP National Chairman Ray Bliss.



Richard Plechner, former chairman of the New Jersey YRs, was a victim of the smear tactics practiced by some liberal Republicans. Author Franke warns it can happen again to conservatives elsewhere.

But a far more sinister approach has also been used: attempts to destroy the reputations of conservatives in the Young Republicans by branding them "bigots" and "anti-Semites."

In their pursuit of a lily-left Republican party, these self-proclaimed "moderates" have turned to the use of character assassination, guilt by association, witch hunts and trials in which defendants have no right to cross-examine their accusers—in fact, all of the methods which together the liberals are fond of calling "McCarthyism."

Thus the "rat fink" scandal in New Jersey. The entire controversy could easily pass as the proverbial tempest in a teapot were it not for the personal reputations unjustly smeared, the careers damaged by those smears, and the revelation that the liberal minority within the Republican party will use whatever methods necessary—however contemptible—in their rule-or-ruin crusade.

The Rat Finks are, generally speaking, the conservatives in the New Jersey Young Republicans. They came by their title at the 1963 national Young Republican convention in San Francisco, the convention at which conservatives first won the national YR leadership.

Liberal delegates from New Jersey called their intrastate opponents "Rat Finks" as an epithet, but the conservatives—who, unlike the liberals, have a sense of humor—adopted the designation with pride. The New Jersey liberals subsequently became known as "The Exterminators."

In January of this year, senior New Jersey GOP officials made public charges that members of the Rat Finks had sung "anti-Semitic" and "racist" songs at the state YR convention in May 1965, and the following month at the national YR convention in Miami Beach. The songs were alleged to be printed in a seven-page song book circulated among the Rat Finks, and one of the songs' lyrics—sung to the tune of "Jingle Bells"—went:

*"Riding through the Reich
in a Mercedes-Benz,
Shooting all the kikes,
saying all my friends.
Rat tat-tat-tat-tat,
mow the bastards down,
Oh what fun it is to have
the Nazis back in town."*

The charges were made by Mrs. Hope Kading of Boise, Idaho, after she was defeated in her campaign for YR national co-chairman at the Miami Beach convention. Returning to Boise to nurse her vineyard of sour grapes, Mrs. Kading cried and spilled all to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and to the receptive senior Republicans in New Jersey.

Immediately the smear campaign began—without waiting for a reply from the accused Rat Finks, and without waiting for the facts of the case to be determined by trial or other method.

Liberal GOP state Sen. Nelson F. Stamler opened by declaring that "The New Jersey Young Republicans have been infiltrated by a tiny group of extreme right-wing bigots who would destroy the party for the sake of their own selfish interests." "News" stories in the New York Times defined the Rat Finks as "a militant, right-wing faction . . .", "an ultraconservative faction. . . ."

Webster B. Todd, Republican state chairman, and Clark Allen, Young Republican state chairman, declared there was no room in the New Jersey YRs for a "hate group" of any size. Todd ordered the YRs to "take whatever steps are necessary to clean house" and expel "those preaching racism and religious intolerance."

The executive board of the Connecticut Young Republicans censored the Rat Finks and declared that they had "brought stigma, embarrassment and shame upon the Young Republicans." And Ray Bliss apparently had his mind made up that the charges were true. "I have been assured," he said, "that prompt action will be taken to correct the abuses by certain minority elements among New Jersey's Young Republicans."

All of this, of course, was joy to the Democrats. State Atty. Gen. Arthur J. Sills, a key member of Democratic Gov. Richard Hughes' administration, immediately opened an "investigation." The alleged singings, he indicated, might constitute "discriminatory proceedings" in violation of state civil rights laws. And his aides were interested in finding out whether—as some liberal Republicans had intimated—there were connections between the Rat Finks and the Minutemen.

But for sheer demagoguery, even that was surpassed by an editorial in the Evening Star of Washington, D.C., which consistently supports the liberal factions in the GOP. Said the Star:

"The Finks, hovering somewhere to the right of Czar Nicholas I, have infiltrated Young Republican ranks in the state. Self-named, they sing anti-Jewish songs, behave like storm troopers at party gatherings and mouth the racist liturgies once heard at Nazi rallies. In short, they're motorcycle bums—suburban-style."

So went justice and fair play, liberal-style. But as William F. Buckley Jr. noted, "There remained, of course, for the procedural-minded, the matter of proof."

Proof was not forthcoming. The New Jersey Young Republicans, dominated by liberals, set up a special investigating committee. Presiding over this committee was one Laurence Hecker, who had been a floor leader for state YR Chairman Clark Allen when Allen was campaigning against the acknowledged leader of the Rat Finks, Richard Plechner.

(It was clear from the beginning that Plechner was the No. 1 individual target of the liberals. Himself a Goldwater delegate to the 1964 GOP national convention, he had succeeded in swinging half of the New Jersey delegation to Barry.)



The morning of the day Plechner resigned, Sen. Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), above, issued a release demanding he be dumped.

Even more interesting is the background of the supposedly objective counsel, William F. Tompkins, who had been brought in from the senior GOP. About a year before these hearings Plechner—then chairman of the New Jersey YRs—had been a speaker at a rally of Young Americans for Freedom. In the course of the evening, the rally's moderator quipped that "Bob Wagner couldn't be all that bad if he's opposed by John Lindsay." By mistake, the newspapers attributed the quip to Plechner.

But Tompkins, who at the time was a Republican state committeeman, blasted Plechner without checking to see if he had indeed made the remark, or if the content was accurate. Calling Plechner's alleged remarks "amazing and intemperate," he said, "It is another example of Plechner using his position in the Republican party as a front to project completely irresponsible views which can only damage our party."

Then, out of Tompkins' imagination, came the recurrent insinuations of bigotry: "Plechner and his small coterie of

associates have apparently embarked on a campaign to make their minority views the views of the great majority of the Republican party," he declared (not explaining what was wrong with a minority trying to become a majority).

"They have attempted to read Sen. Clifford P. Case out of the party merely because Sen. Case has indicated that he has great concern for the great masses of the people, regardless of race, color, or creed" (Note: Not because Case is a far-out liberal).

And "Now we find Mr. Plechner attacking Congressman Lindsay, who has had the courage to fight against bigotry and intolerance, and praising Democrat Mayor Wagner" (posing the question: what did Lindsay's alleged courage have to do with Plechner's opposition to him, assuming Plechner had actually made the remarks?).

The hearings measured up to the standards of objectivity and fair play established by the chair and counsel. The Rat Finks were not allowed to cross-examine their accusers or to call their own witnesses. Star prosecution witness Hope Kading was unable to remember the name of the motel where she had stayed during the state YR convention, or the names of the individuals with whom she had spoken at the time of the alleged singing.

To prove the existence of the Rat Finks, the prosecution introduced a handbill announcing a Rat Fink meeting; there was some embarrassment when it turned out that meeting was addressed by a Negro student from Ghana. The accused denied under oath that they had sung "the offensive songs," and attorneys for the Rat Finks introduced evidence that the "Jingle Bells" lyric was not in the Rat Fink song book, but had been stapled on as an additional page, probably by someone other than a Rat Fink.

For this investigation, the liberal bloc spent an estimated \$5,000. Included in the unproductive outlay was the service of a full-time private investigator for several weeks, at \$100 a day.

Despite its lack of any evidence, the investigating committee reported that it had "found probable cause to cite" 10 Rat Finks for singing or encouraging racist and anti-Semitic songfests.

In an amended report of the investigating committee's charges, the YR state committee ordered disciplinary trials for the 10 members, and asked each county YR organization to expel the heretics in its midst.

Strangely, although the accused's identities were leaked to the press (and they therefore were branded as "racists" and "anti-Semites"), the specific nature of the charges against them was kept secret—to protect the investigating panel from libel suits, said its chairman, Mr. Hecker.

Such methods didn't bother the senior party hierarchy, and the Republican state committee—calling the Rat Finks "a semi-secret group" after all this exposure—ordered the YRs to "proceed forthwith to conclude this matter by ridding itself of those responsible. . . ." A June 1 deadline was set for the purge, and when seven county YR organizations—presumably dominated by Rat Finks and Rat Fink-sympy—refused to take such action, the county organizations were suspended *en toto*.

The cost of party purity came high: the suspended chapters had a majority of the Young Republican state membership of about 3,800. Some 2,000 Young Republicans were thus tainted with the charges of racism and anti-Semitism, and the state's liberal leadership had taken its first giant step toward enlarging the base of the Grand Old Party by kicking out half of its youth.

(Continued on next page)

Are the Rat Finks racist and anti-Semitic?

"The evidence offered to sustain [that] smear," says columnist John Chamberlain, "is about on a par with the evidence that the late Finley Peter Dunne was anti-Irish because he parodied in a written brogue the speech of a couple of Chicago Irishmen named Dooley and Hennessy. Well, satire always misfires in our humorless age, but that does not mean that smears should go unanswered."

There is no doubt that the "Nazi Jingle Bells" song was in poor taste—no matter who added it to the song book. But as George B. Dawson of the Sentinel Newspapers noted, "The spirit of most [of the songs] was one deriding the tendency to link all conservative positions with those held by less appealing segments of the right wing. In this context, the Nazi Jingle Bells song, if it was sung, was not anti-Semitic, but anti-Nazi." Serious Nazis, like serious liberals, don't have the ability to laugh at themselves or others.

"It was political humor," says acknowledged Rat Fink leader Richard Plechner of the other songs. "We try not to take anything too seriously. I don't believe in that." And columnist Dawson finds that Plechner "practices what might be called a collegiate brand of politics. He builds spirit, not by promising jobs or quoting Abraham Lincoln, but by dancing the frug and singing wacky songs."

Adding bitter irony to the Big Smear is the fact that Plechner himself is of part-Jewish background. "As for fascism," he says, "it is generally known my father was killed fighting fascism in the World War. I hardly have any love for fascism."

"It's unbelievable," Plechner adds, "the abuse I've had to take because of this thing, the hate mail I have received." His 10-year-old daughter, Ann, came home from school one day crying "Mommy, I don't ever want to be a Republican, because Republicans just hurt people." A Negro friend in her class had asked her, "Why do you hate me?"

"I'm a conservative," Plechner explains, "because I believe liberalism and big government are restricting our individual liberties. To discriminate against a man because of his ethnic origin would be a violation of the very individual liberties I believe in and which have made me a conservative."

Other Rat Finks of Jewish background agree. "I haven't seen any traces of bias," says Robert Pollack of the Princeton YRs. "If I had, I couldn't belong or live with myself."

Likewise, Rat Fink activist Leah Meyers says of the Nazi Jingle Bells song: "I heard that song several years ago at college fraternities. If I had heard it sung in any YR function, I would have been as disturbed as I was when I heard it before. And I would not tolerate it, or the organization."

And one of the two hostesses, present through the Rat Fink party at which the songs allegedly were sung, was Jewish.

The most recent chapter of this incredible story was written in Chicago during the weekend of August 13, at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Young Republican National Federation.

Prior to the full committee meeting there was a smaller gathering of most of the principals involved in the Rat Fink controversy.

Present among them was Tom Van Sickle, Young Republican national chairman and a leader of "the Syndicate"—the liberals' term for the conservative leadership of the Young Republicans. Also there were Clark Allen, chairman of the New Jersey YRs; Eu-

gene Cowen, press assistant to Sen. Scott; and Donald Ross, GOP national committeeman from Nebraska, who made it clear he was there as the spokesman of Ray Bliss. Cowen refused to leave when the propriety of his presence was questioned.

Ross opened his talk by telling the gathering that he had read the entire transcript of the Rat Fink hearings, and as a lawyer he couldn't find a single piece of evidence of any wrong-doing on the part of Plechner—or, for that matter, the 10 New Jersey members singled out for criticism—that would stand up "in any court."

But, he added, he was there to get the party off the hook in time for the November elections—so Plechner must go. "I'm interested in results, not principles," he said; "I'm not interested in who's right or wrong." And, he strongly implied, failure to dump Plechner would result in the Young Republicans losing their autonomy, and being placed under total administrative and policy control of the Republican National Committee and its chairman, Mr. Bliss.

Then came the full meeting of the Executive Committee, and what transpired shows that the conservative leadership failed to devise any strategy and even failed to communicate among itself, and thus fell easy prey to the united liberal minority, which had come with one objective—purge.

While not exonerating the Rat Finks as a whole, Clark Allen admitted before the committee "that no evidence has come to my attention which is sufficient to convince me that Richard Plechner is a racist or bigot." One liberal present, "Rusty" Pipe, cautioned the liberals on the Executive Committee to remain silent and let the conservatives hang themselves.

And so they did. Plechner formally tendered his resignation as a national vice-chairman, obviously doing so under duress and for the sake of party harmony. Rather than standing on principle and rejecting his resignation, the Executive Committee voted 25 to 19 to accept it.

That same morning Sen. Scott had issued a release demanding that Plechner be dumped to clear up "a very serious problem of religious and racial bigotry." The message seemed clear to the casual reader of the Sunday newspaper stories: Scott demands Plechner be dumped. The YRs dump him.

There is no doubt that a majority of the members of the Executive Committee did not want to accept Plechner's resignation. Enough were under the impression that the deed had to be done in order to save the YRs, however, to give the liberals their majority. With the failure of any conservative leadership, the 19 votes cast for Plechner were individual "gut" votes.

The entire episode makes it evident that there are those among the conservative leadership of the Young Republicans who are more interested in acceding to the dictates of Ray Bliss than they are in fighting for the principles of conservatism—and for the American principle that a man is innocent until proven guilty.

There are rumblings within the Young Republicans and growing demands for a return to the posture of vigorous conservatism that marked the chairmanship of "Buz" Lukens from 1963 to 1965.

Certainly the liberals will not be satisfied with this one victory. Their goal is to recapture the Young Republicans at the national convention in Omaha next year. And now that the liberals have found the Big Smear to be a successful technique, let the conservatives in the Young Republicans look about and ask themselves: Who will be next?

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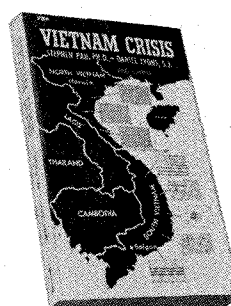
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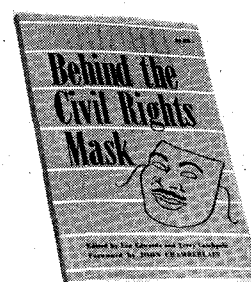


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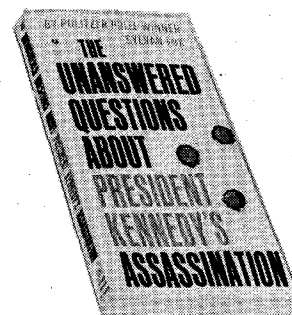
BEHIND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MASK

by
Lee Edwards and Terry Catchpole
Foreword by John Chamberlain

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by Sylvan Fox

There have been a number of books written about the Kennedy assassination, most of them by radical leftists trying to prove that the whole thing was a right-wing conspiracy. Here is one that gives a sober assessment of the tragedy and asks some probing questions that demand answers.

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One enormous benefit of the recent hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities is that they brought to wide public attention the violent nature of a number of our young Communist groups. The hearings also developed other points that may have been missed by the interested but uninvolved general public.

First of all, there is no doubt that the hearings were once again disrupted by a group of young Communists. Shoutings and slogans were the order of the day for the protestors. The lawyers representing the Communists, including the major domo of the American Civil Liberties Union, were obviously involved in some cabal not only to hamper the conduct of the hearings but to use every possible legal technicality to object to their even being held. The lawyers were more obnoxious, discourteous and outrageous than at any previous hearing of HCUA.

Finally, there is the fact that as the hearings progressed the Johnson Administration obviously pressured various agencies to oppose the bill sponsored by HCUA subcommittee chairman Joe Pool (D.-Tex.) which is designed to stop the disruption of our Vietnamese war effort by the various young Communist groups. (See front page for more on this bill.)

As the hearings opened here in Washington on Tuesday, August 16, there was clear evidence that the Communists were prepared to create a riotous situation within the hearing room of the old House Office Building. Under the direction of Levi Laub, a leader of the pro-Chinese Progressive Labor party and a former recalcitrant witness before HCUA, a delegation journeyed to Washington from New York with the specific intent of creating a disruption in the hearing room.

It was also obvious nearly an hour before the doors to the hearing room opened that the young Communists gathered in the hall were in a mood for a fight.

Reminiscent of the 1963 HCUA investigation of the "student" Cuban travelers, these hearings offered the young Communists another opportunity to make propaganda. As Jeff Gordon, one of the witnesses and a youth organizer for Progressive Labor, stated at a New York meeting following the hearings: "We went to HUAC to turn it into a forum against the war in Viet Nam. . . . They are not as strong as we thought, they have weaknesses. . . . We're starting to become a threat to those bastards."

It is important to keep in mind that within the Communist mythology it is often not important to reach the broad spectrum of American people but instead to involve yourself in a revolutionary act that will not only prove your militancy but also appeal to a specific segment of the population.

In this case, the young Communists set out to create a series of disturbances, shout their slogans, show their contempt for Congress, be ejected from the hearing room and seek arrest, all in the hope that they would gain considerable publicity with their actions. And a cursory reading of the nation's press proves that, at least in this, they did succeed.

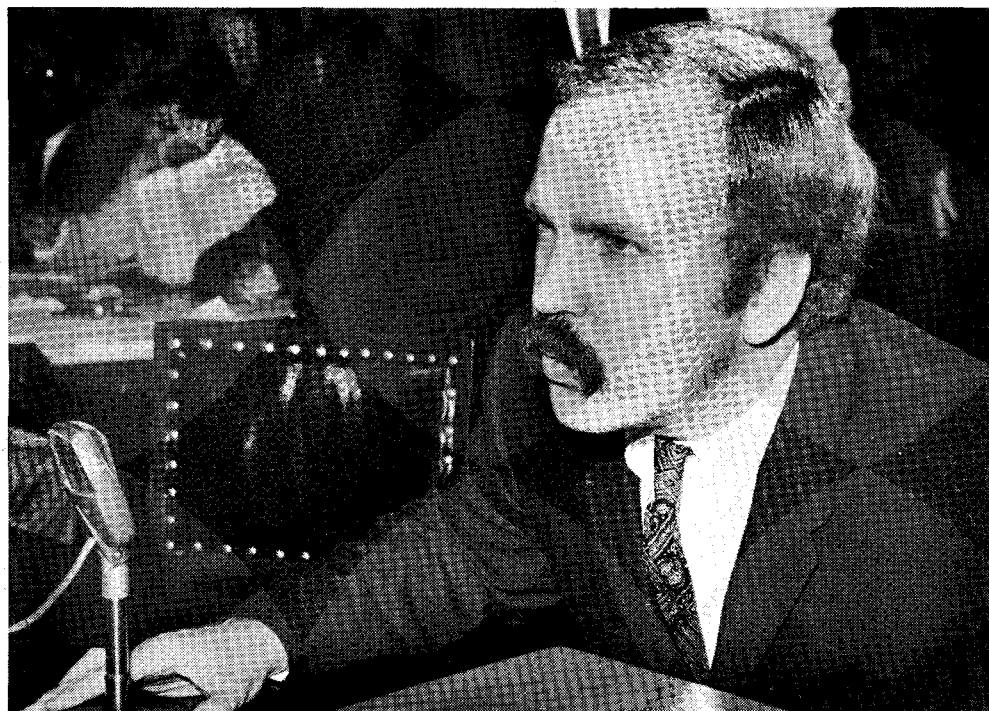
Certainly this publicity did not sit

Mr. Luce, a frequent contributor to these pages and the author of The New Left, is a former member of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party. Because of his experience with America's young Communists, he was able to predict with uncanny accuracy the disturbances that took place at the HCUA hearings.

well with the average newspaper reader. The shouts of "end the war," the obscene gesture that was given to the committee chairman by a witness, the contemptuous replies, the proud boasts of being Communists, the bizarre uniform worn by one witness, the "spontaneous" demonstrations all clearly showed the American people the real nature of the young Communists.

However, these young Communists were not concerned with the reaction in Memphis or Minneapolis, but with the effect that their apparent revolutionary stance might have on other young people.

Banking on a hearing on the campuses, these young Communists purposefully disrupted the hearings and begged for arrest in order to show to that sector of the student population that is angry and considers itself alienated from society that no one is more angry or alienated than the young Communists. They will now travel to the campuses and say, "Look at us. We showed Congress that we have no respect for their hearings. We told them to go to hell and they had to take it. We are real revolutionaries."



The author of this article, Phil Luce, is shown testifying August 16 before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Mr. Luce was the first witness to appear before HCUA in its investigation of anti-war activities and one of the few friendly witnesses to address the committee.

Naturally, the young Communist groups all vied with each other for the distinction of proving that they were the most revolutionary. For example, two Progressive Labor hacks immediately disrupted the hearings and were arrested. Not to be outdone, the Trotskyist splinter group, Youth Against War and Fascism, had to mix it up with the federal marshals and also be arrested.

The Communists will now claim, and have done so already, that the federal marshals and the Capitol police used "brutality" in arresting them. In time-worn fashion, they are charging that "we were the victims of an organized campaign to brutalize us. The cops wanted to kill us."

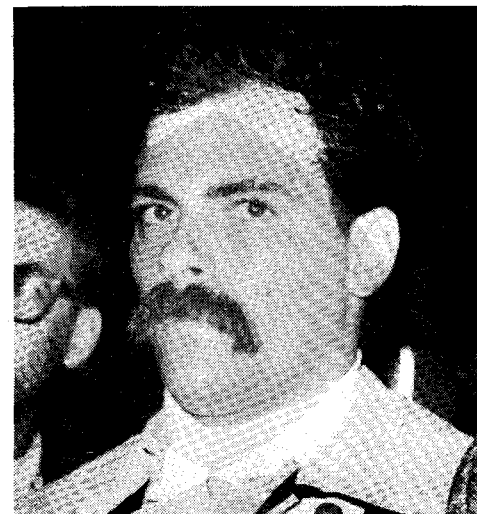
In reality, however, there were no "spontaneous" demonstrations in the hearing room. All of them were programmed by the various young Communist groups prior to, and during, the stages of the hearing. The outbursts and fights that took place were planned in some detail by the Communist groups and, in at least one case, the lawyer for several of the witnesses was informed beforehand of what was going to happen.

This leads directly to the relationship

of the lawyers to this HCUA hearing. Most of the publicity surrounded the arrest and subsequent conviction of Arthur Kinoy for disorderly conduct. (Kinoy naturally charged "police brutality.") This arrest, unique in the annals of HCUA, is only a part of the action in which the lawyers involved themselves.

Minutes before the hearings began, one attorney, Beverly Axelrod from California, who has been picketed as a "slumlord" by a tenants association, charged that her client (Jerry Rubin, the young man in the bizarre Revolutionary War uniform) was not allowed to bring in a package. Rep. Joe Pool (D.-Tex.) ruled that packages were forbidden in the hearing room, but Miss Axelrod persisted, claiming the package contained material necessary for her defense of Rubin. Pool relented and the package was brought into the room. Rubin immediately opened it and began handing out press releases to the assembled newsmen.

No sooner had I, the first witness, taken the stand than Miss Axelrod approached the congressman and, while standing by the table occupied by the



Jerry Rubin, long active in leftist causes, showed up at the hearings in a rented Revolutionary War costume.

to each phase of the hearing and then simply spirit his clients out of the hearing room prior to their being called to testify. This action would then set the stage for a court battle over the constitutionality of HCUA.

Pursuing this strategy Kinoy, at one point in the hearing, loudly objected to a ruling of the chairman and insisted on trying to shout him down. Finally, the chairman tried to gavel Kinoy to his seat and, that failing, he ordered the lawyer taken out by the federal marshals. He was then arrested and later found guilty by the D.C. Municipal Court of disorderly conduct.

It appeared to the people at the hearing that Kinoy had deliberately attempted to create a scene. Immediately after his ejection from the hearing room, his clients, as if on signal, jumped to their feet and loudly proclaimed that they could no longer stay when their lawyer had been thrown out. After exhibiting the appropriate shock and dismay at their dilemma, they handed out a two-page mimeographed statement explaining their position.

As Rep. Richard Ichord noted, they either had a speedy mimeograph machine hidden under their chairs or else some fairly obvious hanky-panky was afoot. I am inclined to the latter view.

Now the stage was set for all the other lawyers to bemoan the fate of Kinoy and stage a dramatic walkout. They never returned, but John Pemberton of the American Civil Liberties Union did come back at one point and read a statement they had signed condemning the arrest of Kinoy and stating that none of them felt safe in the hearing room. Despite circumstantial evidence to the contrary, Pemberton denied any involvement in any kind of prearranged cabal against the committee.

Following this circus created by the unfriendly witnesses and their lawyers, the committee was finally able to get down to the task of seriously considering the Pool bill. Described more fully on the front page of this issue, the bill specifically attempts to deal with persons who aid a foreign power engaged in armed conflict with American military forces and with persons who obstruct U.S. military personnel or transportation.

After listening to many witnesses, including representatives of several government agencies, HCUA rounded up its hearings with a unanimous vote in favor of this bill. The measure will reach the floor of Congress within the next few weeks and there is every indication that it will pass the House with little trouble. The Senate is a different matter, but the reports that Sen. Dirksen opposes the bill are grossly exaggerated.

The amount of mail already pouring into Congress in favor of the bill makes it obvious that the American people are sick and tired of the young Communists getting away with a form of treason and not being held accountable for their acts.

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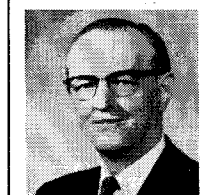
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Humphreyites Grow Angrier Over Bobby's Antics

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Here in Hubert H. Humphrey's home state of Minnesota his friends' anxiety about the forthcoming congressional elections takes second place to their fury about the "dump Humphrey" talk regarding his 1968 renomination.

They insist none of this is coming from anyone close to President Johnson, and least of all from LBJ himself. But when the questioning turns to Sen. Robert F. Kennedy the lid blows off.

"He's no man to play the middle when two ends can be played against it," said an outraged Humphreyite. "And that is exactly what he's doing."

"Will the real Bobby Kennedy please stand up?" said another.

They see a nearly incredible cynicism in his pretenses of shyness, detachment, etc., and cite his statement, pronounced as late as March 17, about his planning for the presidency: "If I tried that I'd destroy myself as a senator. I'd be a basket case in three months. Besides, it would be completely unnatural."

"Unnatural! Wow!" exploded this man.

The Humphreyites claim that, as usual in a Kennedy operation, Bobby's political solutions proceed at two levels—one strategic and one operational. In addition to making certain of his own elevation to the 1972 nomination after President Johnson's two terms, Bobby is also trying to make certain of his own nomination, instead of Humphrey's, in the event anything should happen to LBJ before then.

If President Johnson should not live until 1968 the Minnesotan would be President, and this could stop Bobby cold in his tracks. But if President Johnson lives, the Humphreyites admit Humphrey has an occupational problem which Kennedy knows is unsolvable.

Not only doesn't a vice president run for the vice presidency, but it is impossible for him to effectively protect himself while in the vice presidency.

Along with Bobby's deftly planted rumors, the Humphrey supporters see him applying—step by step—the same techniques against Humphrey, who is tied to President Johnson's policies, that he engineered with such Neanderthal zest against Vice President Richard Nixon when Nixon was on the Eisenhower team. They also see him updating to



Friends of Vice President Humphrey (left) feel that Sen. Bobby Kennedy is deftly planting rumors and cynically using deliberately phony or oversimplified issues.



the present a series of deliberately phony or oversimplified issues ("We must talk peace in Viet Nam") in the pattern of the phony "missile gap," "Soviet growth rate," etc., issues cynically contrived without regard for the truth or the bad effect abroad.

The vice president's friends agree that the Minnesotan's political future depends not only on President Johnson's life but also on Mr. Johnson's popularity. The less popular Mr. Johnson may become, with frequent pushes from Bobby, the harder it is for Humphrey to weather

the Kennedy judo knockdown. Accordingly, some of the current polls especially dismay them as LBJ's popularity develops a leak or two below the waterline.

Beyond this, these Humphreyites say Bobby keeps pitching to the far left in an opportunistic plan to box Humphrey's presidential chances by pre-empting some kind of a super-liberal position on every issue. Name a far-left cliché, or a far-left gimmick, they say, and Bobby is systematically using it. As a further purpose of this they see his

plan shrewdly designed to harness the image-making machine dominated by a bevy of our teaching-talking-writing clan.

Humphrey himself keeps a very proper silence for public consumption regarding the Kennedy manipulations. But as to the offset to these, and whether he's right or not, his chief reliance seems to be the conviction that Bobby will somehow outsmart himself as events develop.

Apparently Humphrey's single greatest resentment concerns Bobby's tactic regarding the Viet Nam war.

After the Bay of Pigs our Army was sent to Viet Nam on the record, and with Robert Kennedy himself performing as practically a co-President, President Kennedy ordered our present war commitment there—not Presidents Truman, Eisenhower or Johnson.

The blame would have gone to President Kennedy had he lived. Thus, from Humphrey's viewpoint he reportedly finds it utterly unconscionable that Bobby tries so unfairly to advance himself by distorting Viet Nam and the mounting draft and casualties into a political banana peel under the President and vice president alike.

The Minnesota Humphreyites find the over-all result as murderous as a flung knife. And both Humphrey and his White House boss are kept abominably busy taking it out of their backs all the time.

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Credit Where It Isn't Due

By MORRIE RYSKIND

We Americans are so inured to campaign hogwash that we'd probably miss it sorely if, by some miracle, it were to disappear altogether. Happily, no such disaster seems in sight.

Thus, an incumbent in a farm state, up for re-election, who has figures to show the average rainfall during his term exceeded that of his predecessor by 2.6 inches, would be deemed a political dunderhead not to claim full credit. Why should a farmer vote for a party which is palpably anti-rain?

Like you, I take such petty thievery in stride. But when it escalates into grand larceny, I think it's time to blow the whistle and call for the cops. Especially when the intended victim is a long-time friend.

Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.) and I met on Broadway some 30 years ago, when he appeared in a show I had written. And later, in Hollywood, we stood together in the fight to prevent the Communist take-over of the studios.

So it is understandable that I have followed his political career with unusual interest and taken a vicarious pride therein. After all, how many U.S. senators can I call by their first name?

Assuming office in 1965, George made the headlines from the very start by the simple device of protecting his constituency. California

farmers for years had relied on Mexican braceros to harvest their crops and the system had benefited both. Indeed, to many braceros the work was a God-send, since they made enough during the season to take care of their families for the year.

But the first rule of the geniuses now in power is that, if a thing works well, you must throw a monkey wrench into the machinery to louse it up. After which you appoint a commission to see what is wrong.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz, bending an ear to some labor bosses who foresaw new members, issued a patriotic ukase in 1965, decreeing braceros must henceforth stay at home and their work go to Americans. Murphy, fearing this would ruin the farmers, spoke up in protest, but was denounced by Gov. Brown and the bosses as "anti-labor."

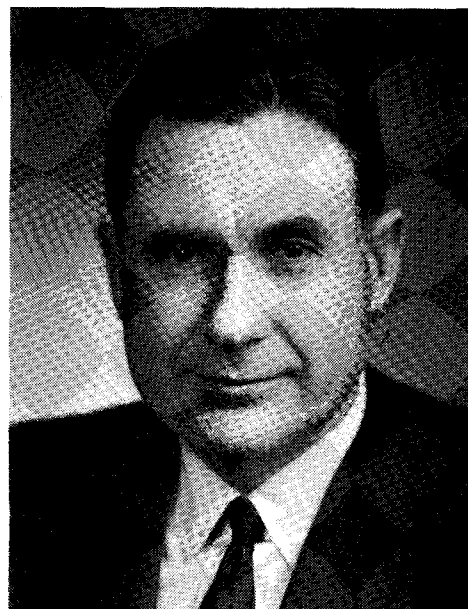
Last August, as the peak harvest time approached, Murphy endeavored to get the entire California congressional delegation to unite in an appeal to Wirtz to rescind his order. All the Republicans—including Sen. Kuchel—responded, but only one Democrat, Harold T. Johnson, went along.

Meanwhile, the new order came into being and, as Murphy had warned, the farmers couldn't get enough Americans to do the "stoop labor" required. So crops rotted and a good many farmers began losing their shirts.

Wirtz then relented enough to permit braceros to enter for the emergency and salvage what they could. But not before some farmers, embittered, had left the state and bought tracts in Mexico.

This July Murphy repeated his appeal, citing the previous fiasco, and Wirtz agreed to a similar dispensation in time to prevent the losses of 1965.

That's history. But here's how Congressman John J. McFall rewrites it in his newsletter of August 11:



Rep. John J. McFall (D.-Calif.) now boasts that he and his fellow liberals helped solve the bracero problem.

"Advance approval by the Department of Labor for 6,000 Mexican workers to assist in this year's California tomato harvest carried out assurances given California congressmen early this year.

"Soon after Congress convened in January, representatives of farm areas of the state resumed their efforts to meet the need for farm labor. In 1965, they won approval of the use of 17,597 braceros to help harvest the richest tomato crop in history. . . .

"Working together were"—and he lists all the Democratic congressmen of the state—none of whom, with the exception of Harold T. Johnson, had lifted a finger when the going was rough. He does give credit, however, to one Republican: Sen. Kuchel.

Not a mention of Murphy. Which is like writing about Yorktown and omitting Washington's name.

Even for a campaign year, that's too big a whopper to take. Go wash your mouth out with soap, Mr. McFall.

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Am. Federation of Teachers Embraces Nihilism

By ALICE WIDENER

As nihilistic teachers in Europe created the moral and intellectual debacle that resulted in Stalin's Marxism-Leninism and Hitler's National Socialism, so it seems that today in our country some nihilistic delegates in the American Federation of Teachers are creating a debacle that could end in the triumph here of totalitarian extremism.

Recently the Teachers Union, through delegates at its 50th annual meeting, adopted a set of nihilistic resolutions boding ill for our society. Under these resolutions the union urges all local units to demand and secure written contracts guaranteeing teachers' "complete academic freedom" and their "right to job security" while practicing civil disobedience. The union asserted the teachers' right to disobey what they consider

to be "any immoral or unjust laws and policies of any public agency."

Not a single resolution passed by the Teachers Union defines what it considers to be immoral or unjust laws and policies. Not a resolution defines or even lays down any guidelines for teachers' responsibilities in their job or for their qualifications. The American Federation of Teachers gave its members blanket license to decide individually on the merits of our laws and to act individually in disobedience to them. No standards are set, no values determined, no traditions upheld.

What is nihilism? Frederick Nietzsche said it is "for the supreme values to become worthless." At the end of the 19th Century he correctly predicted the rise of nihilism and said it would be the history of the next two centuries.

Perhaps the man of our century who best understood all this was Hermann Rauschnig, author of *The Revolution of Nihilism* and *The Redemption of Democracy*, two classic works of the era before World War II. As former president of the Danzig Free State, Rauschnig became a main intellectual enemy of Stalin's and Hitler's nihilistic doctrines. The delegates to the recent American Federation of Teachers meeting should read Rauschnig.

"What will be the result of war in this form?" he asked in 1941. "Shall we seek a basis for our tangible endeavors where it was found by former ages that could distinguish between the unchanging and the unchangeable? . . . Or shall we lose ourselves more than ever in the effort to establish an outward order that will give to everyone the greatest imaginable security against all the blows of fate?"

In the midst of chaos, Rauschnig recognized the evils attendant on the search for security per se. They inevitably lead to the abolition of all existing values and laws in a search for "the new social order" that will save mankind from all supernatural forces, "from retribution or judgment."

Let us be more colloquial. Teacher believes that the law against stealing is immoral because it prevents an underprivileged pupil without pocket money from buying needed toothpaste at the neighborhood drug store. Teacher steals some toothpaste at the store for the pupil. "I was practicing civil disobedience against an immoral law denying to a pupil his right to good teeth," says Teacher, having been found guilty of theft and dismissed from his "job" in the local high school. The American Federation of Teachers local unit calls all teachers out on strike until Teacher is reinstated under the written contract for "job security and the right to civil disobedience."

Anyone with imagination and common sense can conjure up more and better examples.

Time and time again, since World War II, people have asked "How could the educated, civilized people of Germany have fallen prey to Nazi barbarism?" After the Iron Curtain has been thrown down, they will ask the same about the hapless peoples living in East Europe and Russia.

"Oh, it couldn't happen here!" we boast, though doctrinaire ideologues already are pushing us further and further toward the precipice of nihilism.

It was defined by Rauschnig as "restlessness exalted into a doctrine." The great Swiss educator Pestalozzi said we human beings need education "for inner

calm." Rauschnig correctly said World War II was basically about inner restraints, not outer frontiers.

"The temptations of the age," he wrote, "lie not in state absolutism alone, but in the conviction, current in liberal and Socialist circles alike, that some definitely correct arrangement of the world is possible." He said this notion leads to the belief that an omnipotent elite can impose the correct arrangement by pure intellect alone. In turn, this belief leads to anarchic skepticism, then destructive nihilism.

The American Federation of Teachers, above all other groups in our nation, should recognize that the only constructive new order we can establish must be a continued development of what now exists and the preservation of the great forces of history and tradition. The struggle for a human society based on law and order was too painful to repeat. If American teachers demand absolute academic license, immunity and the right to civil disobedience, they will become not teachers but agents provocateurs.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

□ □ □

TEN YEARS AGO it took a strong man to lift \$20 worth of groceries. Now anyone can do it.

Bureaucrats vs. Doctors

From the Chicago Tribune

A spokesman for Medicare, commenting on a report that doctors have raised their fees for elderly patients by "as much as 300 per cent" since the program began, jumped to a hasty and predictable conclusion. "This is a situation," he told the New York Times, "in which the professional takes advantage of the plan."

President Johnson has lent credence to this charge by ordering a study of rising medical costs.

Ever since George Bernard Shaw, the Fabian Socialist, wrote *The Doctor's Dilemma*, advocates of government-controlled medicine have tended to blame the doctors for everything that has gone wrong in their profession.

What the Times report boiled down to was simply that many doctors who have been treating the elderly and indigent at cut-rate fees, out of consideration for these patients, are raising the fees to conform to their standard fees. "I'm not raising fees," one doctor protested, "but eliminating a discount."

This doesn't strike us as unreasonable. There is no reason why a doctor who has been helping elderly patients by charging less than the going rate should now be expected to grant the same subsidy to the government—especially when he is paying Social Security taxes himself for benefits which, in all likelihood, he will never receive. Doctors rarely retire at 65, and with today's shortage there is more need than ever for them to stay on the job.

If the government, for its part, wants the elderly to receive the quality of care that they have been promised under the voluntary, supplemental program to which nearly all of them have subscribed, it hardly makes sense for it to refuse to pay what other patients pay.

This isn't to say that all doctors are perfect or that there won't be any abuses on their part. But when a government spokesman suggests that the medical profession is profiteering simply because doctors object to subsidizing the government more than they already are, the doctors can't be blamed for looking at the whole program with a jaundiced eye.

This is the way schisms have developed between doctors and bureaucrats wherever a government has stepped into the practice of medicine. If it is an indication of the way things are to be here, too, the prognosis for Medicare is a gloomy one.

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RACES of the WEEK

This is the tenth installment of our regular pre-election feature, Races of the Week. Each week until Election Day, November 8, Human Events will offer as many analyses of key election contests from coast to coast as space permits.

Oklahoma's 2nd District

Garrison vs. Edmondson

A 39-year-old state senator, a veteran of two wars, has seven-term Rep. Ed Edmondson (D.-Okla.) panicky. Republican Denzil D. Garrison's non-stop campaign has Edmondson running scared, visiting the district every week, even dragging the President in for a personal endorsement.

Garrison, minority leader of the Oklahoma State Senate, announced his candidacy in February. Three months later he took a leave of absence from his Bartlesville law firm and has campaigned night and day ever since. In hundreds of campaign appearances he has ripped Edmondson's ultra-liberal voting record and appealed for support from Republicans, Democrats and independents.

Originally elected as a "middle-of-the-roader," Edmondson has moved farther and farther left (ACA rating: 5). Disillusioned Democrats

who call themselves "Dennycrats" are now working actively for Garrison. In Muskogee County, for instance, Edmondson's own relatives are among the life-long Democrats working for the GOP nominee.

The GOP nominee is making the high cost of living a major issue, charging that Edmondson's rubber-stamp support of "Great Society" spending has fanned the flames of inflation. During the 88th Congress, for instance, Edmondson opposed economy in government on 19 of every 20 rollcalls.

Edmondson's support of the rent subsidy program has emerged as a top issue. Under heavy attack from Garrison, Edmondson maintains lamely the program "won't affect our district." Edmondson says it will:

"The hard-earned tax dollars of our

constituents will be used to subsidize the rents of men and women throughout the nation. Families with incomes of \$10,000 and more may be eligible for the rent handouts."

Garrison served with the Third U.S. Army during World War II in Europe. He then returned to the University of Oklahoma, only to be called back into uniform when the Korean War broke out in 1950. He returned to law school in 1952, graduating in 1953. A year later he was elected Washington County attorney.

In 1956 Garrison was elected to the Oklahoma House of Representatives and served two years, the second as minority leader. In 1960 he was elected to the Oklahoma State Senate, reelected in 1964 and now serves as minority leader in the upper house.

The non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* earlier characterized Edmondson's reelection as certain, now reports that an upset is possible. Eisenhower carried the district with 54 per cent of the vote in 1956 and Nixon with 57 per cent in 1960. Although LBJ swept the district in 1964, under-financed Republicans have polled 44 per cent of the vote against



GARRISON

Edmondson in recent years.

The Garrison challenge is the most serious ever faced by Edmondson. The GOP nominee is unconcerned by LBJ's recent visit and endorsement of Edmondson. "If anything," he says, "it has spurred our workers to even greater efforts." (Garrison for Congress headquarters: 419 E. 5th Street, Bartlesville, Okla.)

South Dakota Senate Contest

Mundt vs. Wright

The polls give Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S. D.) a comfortable lead in his bid for a fourth term, but the veteran lawmaker is taking no chances. The Labor Day weekend found Mundt at the South Dakota State Fair in Huron, shaking hands and meeting voters for hours on end.

Mundt faces an energetic challenge from Democrat Donn H. Wright, a two-term state legislator who is making the war in Viet Nam a central issue. Wright has repeatedly criticized Mundt for supporting U.S. intervention in Viet Nam.

"Arbitration is the only logical, moral Christian way to settle the war," Wright maintains. He tells voters that if the United States would only build a "ring of prosperity" around Red China, the Peking war lords would abandon their drive for world domination.

Mundt, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, believes the Wright arguments to be sophomoric. Peking, says Mundt, is ideologically committed to world conquest, a fact of international life conveniently overlooked by members of the Democratic party's peace bloc.

Wright, a former staffer of the radical South Dakota Farmers Union, has attacked Mundt as a tool of "reactionary, big business." Mundt notes merely that South Dakota voters have five times elected him to Congress and three times to the Senate. (Mundt for Senate Committee: P. O. Box 747, Sioux Falls, S. D.)

Wright has been badly damaged by his association with Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman (a recent

survey conducted by Oliver Quayle, the President's personal pollster, revealed that only 15 per cent of the state's farmers approve of Freeman).

Mundt has been a caustic critic of Freeman, accusing the secretary of "declaring war on the American farmer" by depressing farm prices and cutting back production allotments.

Because of his opposition to American policy in Viet Nam, Wright expects considerable support from out-of-state peace groups. He will also receive aid from the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education and other richly endorsed labor organizations.

Mundt has been a prime labor target for many years. He was a ranking member of the Senate Rackets Committee and a driving force behind committee probes of the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers. The veteran solon incurred labor's wrath earlier this year when he helped direct the Senate filibuster that salvaged the right-to-work section of the Taft-Hartley Act.



MUNDT

As a congressman, in 1948, Mundt was acting chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities probe of Alger Hiss which led to Hiss' conviction and imprisonment. He was the co-author of the Mundt-Nixon bill, forerunner of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Texas' 7th District

Bush vs. Briscoe

Houston is the largest metropolitan area in the nation without two-party representation in Washington. Oilman George Bush is out to remedy the situation and give Houston its first Republican congressman in history.

An articulate conservative who ran a strong but losing race for the Senate two years ago, Bush sold his off-shore drilling firm earlier this year to devote full time to the congressional race. In recent months he has delivered hundreds of speeches and assembled a volunteer organization of more than 1,000 men and women. (Bush for Congress headquarters: 4016 Richmond Avenue, Houston, Tex.)

Bush is opposed by former Harris County District Attorney Frank Briscoe, a member of the Democratic party's conservative wing. (Briscoe admits that he voted for Bush against liberal Sen.

Ralph Yarborough two years ago.)

If elected, Briscoe has said he would vote to organize the House on Democratic lines. He would support John McCormack (D.-Mass.) for speaker against Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.), Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) for chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee and Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) to head the House Judiciary Committee.

Briscoe has also announced his opposition to the Dirksen amendment to reverse the Supreme Court decision on legislation reapportionment. Bush actively supports the Dirksen proposal to permit a state to apportion one branch of a state legislature on a basis other than population.

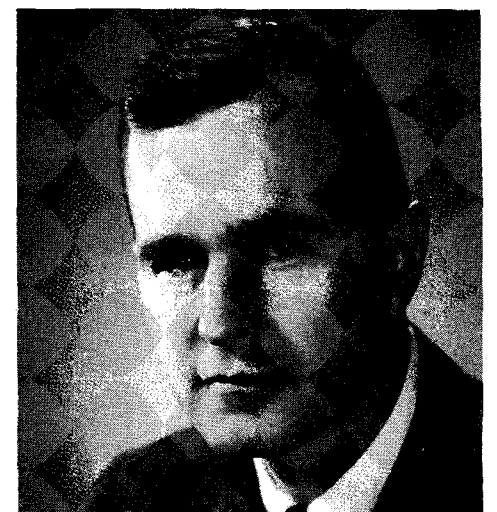
The 7th District seat is a new one, created last year by the state legisla-

ture. On the basis of past election returns, Bush is given an excellent chance for victory. John Tower carried the district twice—over Lyndon Johnson in 1960 and over William Blakely in 1961. Eisenhower and Nixon both swept the district and Bush captured 57 per cent of the vote in his 1964 Senate race.

The GOP should be aided by a bitterly divided Democratic party. Leaders of the liberal and labor factions of the state Democratic party have announced their intention to sit on their hands in the Bush-Briscoe contest and the Tower-Carr Senate race as well.

To counter Bush's demonstrated strength, Briscoe backers have labeled the GOP nominee a "carpetbagger" and newcomer to Texas. Actually, Bush has lived in the state for 18 years. Forty per cent of the district voters were themselves born out of state.

Like Tower in the Senate race, Bush is hitting hard at the soaring cost of living and putting the blame on the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. Inflation cost each Texan \$235 in 1965, a figure that is expected to rise in 1966.



BUSH

Bush will also be aided by the fact that the rising cost of interest has contributed to a sharp cutback in home building and other construction in the Houston area. Residential construction has dropped by as much as 30 per cent in reaction to both increased costs and the credit contraction. Home building has hit a five-year low.



Lt. Gen. Werner Panitzki (left), commander of the Luftwaffe, resigned in a dispute with the civilian bosses over the use of the U.S.-designed F-104 Starfighter, of which the Germans have lost 61 in crashed. Army boss Gen. Heinz Trettner quit after objecting to the Bonn government's decision to allow trade unions within the armed forces.

Also Country's Optimism

German Reunification Hopes Fade

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

The resignation of two top generals, possibly followed by more, is less an event than a symptom of a malaise that has been creeping over the German Federal Republic for the last few years.

As late as 1962, when I visited that country, I found the Germans optimistic, cheerful, reasonably sure of coming reunification. Today these feelings have disappeared.

The resignation of the air force commander, Lt. Gen. Werner Panitzki, is nominally traceable to the excessive number of crashes of the American designed F-104 Starfighters. Reasoning that in the past Germans have been as good pilots as any, the general insists that the government is not giving him the proper training time or support.

Gen. Heinz Trettner's resignation is ascribed to the permission granted by Defense Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel to allow trade unions within the armed forces. This looks like a sort of first step toward anarchy or political commissars.

But actually, both departures are, I suspect, the result of the two generals' realization that, without the backing of the United States and France, the two allies to which it feels closest, the German armed forces, lacking nuclear weapons of their own, are unable to bring about reunion with the East Germans.

Over the past few years, ever since the death of Dulles, the West Germans have been slowly realizing that neither Washington nor Paris is prepared to make relaxation of tensions or disarmament agreements depend upon Soviet consent to Germany's reunification.

Moreover, since Hitler's disastrous defeat, a large number of Germans, possibly a majority, have become militant anti-militarists determined to keep the armed services under strict civilian control and reluctant to serve in them.

To generals educated in the old tradition ("the soldier is the finest man in the whole state," the song went), this is hard to take.

Until fairly recently, most Germans felt confident Europe, or at least the six Common Market countries, was moving toward political unity, with the Franco-German alliance as a nucleus. President de Gaulle has destroyed most of this confidence and America's reluctance to share nuclear weapons the rest.

Even the country's once shining "economic miracle" has slowed down. It is being undercut by creeping inflation

which over-employment makes difficult to check.

Of these disappointments, the recent upsurge of the social Democrats is, in my opinion, largely the result. Under Adenauer, the Christian Democrats seemed to be offering the West German people a prosperous and dignified future with reunification just around the corner.

Now that none can foresee how or when the Communist zone can be liberated, with the dream of united West Europe stationery or fading, with a diminishing sense of economic security, any German government is facing a difficult decision on what to do: cling to NATO in the hope that at some point Washington will get over its faith in a rapidly changing Russia; settle down to a few "non-political years"; or seek reconciliation with the Communist governments in the hope of purchasing reunification at the price of abandoning NATO?

The choice will not be easy.

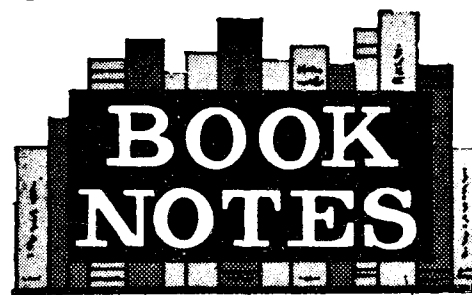
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COPPING A PLEA—"Indonesians catch on as quickly as anybody. In a rural Indonesian village the other day a terrified man was run down by irate citizens screaming at him: 'Communist! Communist!' But the panic-stricken fugitive soon saved himself by pleading: 'I am no Communist. I am just a thief.'"—From the *Pittsburgh Press*

□ □ □

HE IS STILL AROUND—It had to happen, we suppose, and it should give those who feel atheism is advancing pause for reflection. What happened was that two Terre Haute members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon) took a survey of 370 Terre Haute residents asking if they believed in the "God Is Dead" theory. Of those questioned 356 said God is not dead; four said He was and 10 said they didn't know. If this sampling reflects the thinking of most people in the nation then those who have been disturbed by the controversy should take heart. And there is encouragement, too, in the statements of the 10 who said they didn't know. Maybe what they meant was they didn't even know He was sick. —From the *Indianapolis Star*



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AN AGENT IN PLACE: THE WENNESTROM AFFAIR by Thomas Whiteside (Viking, 150 pages, \$3.95).

"Why," whine 20th Century liberals, "do you paranoid super-patriots delude yourselves with visions of Communist espionage, when it is plain to see that the Soviets have only peaceful designs, and, therefore, no need for espionage?" The "why," of course, is easily answered by listing the many acts of military espionage that weave their way through *The Wennestrom Affair*.

Wennestrom, it will be recalled, was the colonel in the Swedish Air Force who in 1964 was sentenced to life imprisonment by his government after confessing to a dazzling 15-year career of transmitting Western secrets to Russian intelligence. So highly did the Kremlin value his services, in fact, that they covertly bestowed upon him the rank of major general in Soviet intelligence, a rank considerably higher than any he ever attained in the service of Sweden.

From 1952 to 1957 Wennestrom served in Washington, D.C., as air attaché in the Swedish embassy. His confessions express his amazement at the ease with which he obtained publications and documents of value to Russian intelligence merely by writing, in his official capacity, to the Pentagon and asking for them. "From this great volume of material," he tells us, "I selected the material that was suitable for my purposes on the basis of the aims of Soviet intelligence. . . ."

So great was the audacity of this enterprise that on one occasion Wennestrom chose the Pentagon, itself, as a site for passing on material to the Soviet contacts. And, ironically, in 1952, before leaving the United States, he was awarded the Order of the Legion of Merit by our government. Upon returning to his country in 1957, he passed on Sweden's air defense secrets to Russia and succeeded in causing that country's entire air defense system to be reorganized.

Unfortunately, Mr. Whiteside stops short of exploring the elements in Wennestrom's background that might have provided the compulsion responsible for his treasonous activities and, in that respect, the book seems seriously deficient. Nevertheless, it is a fast-moving and thoroughly intriguing account of espionage in the nuclear age and a reminder once again of the dangers of subscribing to liberalism's soft-headed conception of "mellowing communism."

VIET NAM CRISIS by Stephan Pan and Daniel Lyons, S. J. (East Asian Research Institute, 334 pages, paperback, 75 cents).

Cogent and readable, *Viet Nam Crisis* is an important contribution to the available literature on the dramatic and fateful episodes that are being acted out in the steaming jungles of Southeast Asia. It is neither a sop designed to mask the sickness of a policy that sends Americans to war without their government's full determination to break the will of the enemy by invoking whatever force is required, nor a plea for any narrowly prejudicial viewpoint, both being characteristics which have marred several recent books on the subject.

The history and geopolitics of our Asian policy are comprehensively treated, as is the struggle against French colonialism, the Geneva agreements, the rise and assassination of Diem, and the historical roots of America's commitments in Southeast Asia. Moreover, the authors assess the impact that such relatively current events as the "teach-in" and "peace" movements in the country and the Honolulu Conference have had on the conduct of the war.

The authors are both former university professors and exceptionally well qualified to write on

this subject. Dr. Pan was a boyhood friend of Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh and has known former President Diem and Chiang Kai-shek, among other authorities on Asia. Father Lyons is a lecturer and debater, probably best known for his column in *Our Sunday Visitor*. Their qualifications and talents have blended to produce a valuable treatment of America's most perplexing problem.

ROCKEFELLER'S FOLLIES by William Rodgers (Stein and Day, 224 pages, \$5.95).

Really, now. Does anybody seriously believe that all of Rockefeller's follies could be crowded into a modest 224 pages? Obviously, a few would have to be left out, and that probably accounts for the omission of the Ultimate Folly: Rockefeller's desertion of his party's standard bearer in 1964. Could that oversight be traced to the fact that the author, "like Mr. Rockefeller, is a liberal Republican"?

Notwithstanding such a major "oversight," the author pulls no punches in excoriating the governor's tax and fiscal policies. And despite the family likeness between author and subject, this book is bad news for Rocky and will unquestionably be exploited by the Democrats in the New York gubernatorial campaign.

WAR AS I KNEW IT by Gen. George S. Patton (Pyramid, 368 pages, paper, 75 cents).

War, as Gen. Patton knew it, was a horrible anguish which demanded expeditious termination—in short, which demanded victory. He had somehow been deprived of instruction in the liberal techniques now so in vogue, techniques by which the enemy is thoughtfully accorded advantages such as sanctuaries from attack and guarantees of uninterrupted trade with free world "allies." Instead, Patton was a military man who applied military solutions to military problems, and managed to remain immune from the "Pentagon Paralysis" that today enfeebles our nation. His extraordinary courage and leadership, unswayed by any fretful vision of Armageddon, form one of the most inspiring personal tales of World War II, if not all American history.

This narrative, based upon battlefield diaries maintained from 1942 through 1945, was written by the general shortly before his death. The realities of war are nowhere delineated more vividly than in this book, nor are the consequences of appeasement more readily visible. For both reasons it is not likely to be programmed into one of Mr. McNamara's computers.

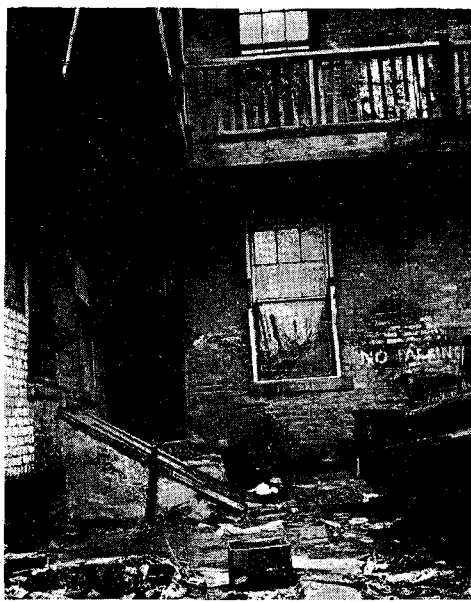
BLACK AND CONSERVATIVE by George S. Schuyler (Arlington House, 362 pages, \$5.95).

The Conservative Book Club introduces the book as a recent selection by enjoining thus: "So you think it's tough these days to be a white conservative? George Schuyler, Negro conservative, has led a life that will make your own problems suddenly seem small."

And a delightful story it is, an effective antidote to the fable that no Negro, no matter how talented, can make personal and professional progress except in the wake of government-manufactured opportunities. His memories include involvement in the Socialist movement, with which he broke in the 1930s, and extend through a highly distinguished newspaper career. And his insight into the problems of the Negro community will provide sparse comfort to those militants who point to the road of revolution, rather than to the more difficult one of self-help under free enterprise, as the means by which the Negro can best achieve economic and personal progress.



Above are two photos depicting the general deterioration of John Bailey's properties in Hartford. The buildings were in disrepair for more than 10 years while Bailey ignored directives to renovate them.



Remember Lady Bird?

Democratic Chairman Bailey Exposed as Hartford Slumlord

In a recent Syracuse speech, President Johnson attacked "conditions which permit some people to line their pockets with the tattered dollars of the poor." "We must take the profit out of poverty," he thundered.

Was Democratic National Chairman John M. Bailey listening? He should have been, because Bailey, who is also Connecticut Democratic chairman, has been exposed as an absentee slumlord in Hartford.

Bailey owns a string of houses which for at least 10 years have needed massive repairs to electrical and plumbing fixtures as well as painting and structural work. As revealed by the Republican Congressional Committee Newsletter, however, Bailey has apparently for years ignored requests by the city to renovate his properties. The Democratic city council in Hartford has not pushed the issue, even though the houses, occupied by about 16 families, were health hazards and indeed in danger of collapsing.

Hartford has designated the houses as part of an urban renewal area and they have now been condemned and padlocked. Bailey, who presumably made

a profit on his slum properties, will also realize additional income when the cold-water tenements and the land are sold to the Hartford Redevelopment Agency.

Hartford City Councilman Theodore DiLorenzo asks, "Why have repeated wrongs gone unanswered? Why has there been no enforcement of the code in Mr. Bailey's case? Why have admitted violations gone unprosecuted? And why have these obvious, long-standing and flagrant violations . . . been dismissed so lightly by city officials?"

For the answers to these questions most observers feel one need only look at the tight rein Bailey holds on Connecticut Democrats. Witness, for example, his blackballing of former Rep. Frank Kowalski (D.-Conn.) for renomination to the Subversive Activities Control Board (see *Human Events*, Sept. 3, 1966, page 3).

The Bailey case, of course, brings to mind the 1964 disclosure that poor Negroes were living in rickety wooden shacks on Alabama land owned by Lady Bird Johnson. Only after nationwide publicity were certain repairs made. It certainly appears that "taking the profit out of poverty" ought to begin at home.

Some Persons Will Sign Anything

From the New York Daily News

Every now and then, you see in some newspapers (not the *News*) advertisements covering a page or more, blasting some U.S. government policy, and signed by any number of persons, generally on college and university faculties.

How genuine are these ads, and how much respect do they merit?

Dr. Roger Swearingen, who heads the University of Southern California's Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda, recently researched the backgrounds of several thousand professors who signed two recent splash ads condemning the U.S. Viet Nam war effort virtually from A to Z.

Key sentences in Dr. Swearingen's report:

"Recognized U.S. scholars on foreign policy, the Soviet Union, Communist China, Southeast Asia, communism and American security problems are conspicuously absent from this roster of critics."

On the contrary—

"Careful tabulation of the professional

fields of the signers suggests that the overwhelming majority of them spend full time in writing, teaching, counseling and research where no background, training, knowledge or experience in foreign relations is either required or assumed."

In other words, some people will sign anything, either because they dote on seeing their names in print or for more sinister reasons. These ads, then, are mainly fraudulent.

□ □ □

LBJ'S BOAST—Republican congressional leaders accused the President of bragging about the inflation that has raised the consumer price index from 99.1 to 112.9 since 1957. Senate leader Dirksen and House GOP leader Ford noted a June 30 speech in which Johnson told a Des Moines audience: "When these folks [Republicans] start talking to you about inflation, you tell them that is something you only have to worry about in Democratic administrations."

Interesting Results in CBC Poll

Early this year the Conservative Book Club (CBC) of New Rochelle, N.Y., mailed an opinion questionnaire to every 20th name on its active membership list of 31,500. The results are now in and have been tabulated. Of the 1,574 surveys sent out, 1,069 replies were received—statistically an excellent response.

The poll provides some rather interesting insights into contemporary conservative thought on a variety of issues—especially the outlook for 1968. For example, while 70 per cent of the CBC members who responded indicated their willingness to work within the framework of the Republican party and just 10 per cent stated a preference for a third party, only 20 per cent said they would support a Romney-Lindsay ticket in 1968.

What would the other 80 per cent of the conservatives do if the GOP did nominate a Romney-Lindsay ticket? Seventy-one per cent said they would vote for third-party candidates if they were on the ballot, otherwise they would write in the names of candidates they preferred. Six per cent said they would stay at home and 2 per cent said they would vote for Johnson-Humphrey.

When CBC members were asked what they would do if the Republican party nominated a Nixon-Ford ticket, there

were dramatic differences. Eighty per cent now said they would vote for the GOP ticket, only 18 per cent would look to third-party candidates and just 1 per cent would stay home.

Noting that replies to another question in the poll show that much of this is really Goldwater support transferred to Nixon, CBC comments that the shift does indicate that most conservatives are willing to compromise: "Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford are generally regarded as centrists in the Republican spectrum, yet CBC members—tough and informed and dedicated conservatives—are for the most part willing to vote for them, even though they would prefer an unambiguous conservative."

Returning to what the poll showed conservatives would do in the case of a Romney-Lindsay ticket, CBC said, "This striking response—an 80 per cent defection from the GOP—suggests a mass conservative revolt if the Republicans nominate a liberal ticket If these opinions are typical of the sentiments of the millions who won the GOP nomination for Goldwater in 1964 (and there is reason to think they are), then Republican leaders may be courting disaster if they ignore the findings."

As the *Richmond News Leader* commented, "Eighty per cent of 27 million is a whole lot of votes to risk. One hopes that GOP Chairman Ray Bliss received a copy of the poll."

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FOR SALE

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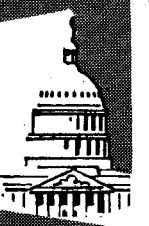
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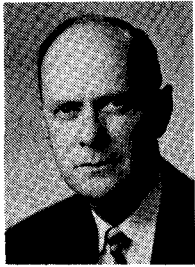
SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS



'Stay in School'

By REP. WALTER ROGERS (D.-Tex.)

There was a day when a person could drop out of school, readily find a job, and go on to attain marked success in his chosen field. All of us can think of examples of men who, in our own communities, have not been handicapped by the lack of formal education. But a new age has come; today's requirements in business and industry are for trained men and women, for persons with proper preparation for the work ahead. The young person who has dropped out of school may have the will to succeed, the native intelligence to do well, but his lack of a diploma—in competition with those who have finished school—prevents him from finding the opportunities he'd like. In the competition for jobs, the drop-out is the loser.



The country is the loser, too. The United States needs all the trained people our educational system can produce. Support "Stay-in-School" campaigns in your community, not only for the good of the young people affected but also for your country's benefit in the future.

Dollar Sign Diplomacy

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

The world map is a seething blot of Communist-inspired trouble and stands as convincing proof that dollar sign diplomacy has failed. In 1917 10.1 per cent of the world's population lived in 8.6 million square miles of Communist territory. In 1963, 34.99 per cent lived in a Communist world of 13.7 million square miles. . . To overcome our mistakes many changes must be made. But primarily we need to abandon the false premise that enough American dollars carelessly spread across the globe will buy peace.

Why No Nike-X?

By SEN. PAUL FANNIN (R.-Ariz.)

Secretary McNamara again is rejecting the urgent suggestions of informed military and scientific authorities to step up development of a missile defense system. It is impossible to overstate the serious potential consequences of this decision, if it is allowed to stand. Our Armed Services Committee has called for full-speed immediate de-



velopment of the Nike-X system long recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As of now, we have no assured defense against missiles, and there is evidence to indicate the Soviet Union is forging ahead of us in this vital aspect of technology.

What is at stake here is the preservation of possibly as many as 80 million

American lives. As one of my colleagues put it, if McNamara's right, we save some dollars; if he's wrong, we could lose the country. Congress can appropriate money but it cannot force the executive branch to spend it for a specific purpose. The McNamara decision apparently will stand unless American public opinion convinces the Administration to reconsider.

Vietnik Wants 'Old Kooks' in War

By REP. FRANK BOW (R.-Ohio)

One of the young radicals who demonstrated in Washington against the war in Viet Nam told a radio interviewer that he thought the "old kooks" in Congress ought to be sent to war. He thought that might bring an end to the conflict.

When I heard his words my mind turned to Rep. John Bell Williams of Mississippi, who lost one arm and the use of a leg when his B-26 bomber crashed on a European raid during World War II.

I thought of Rep. Olin (Tiger) Teague of Texas, chairman of the Veterans Affairs Committee, who suffered crippling wounds while in command of his tank forces in combat.

I thought of Rep. Charles E. Bennett of Florida, who eluded the Japanese in the early days of the conquest of the Philippines and led a native guerrilla force in the jungles throughout the war, performing countless acts of heroism before he contracted poliomyelitis from which, for lack of proper medical care, he is still crippled.

I could go on down the list of 297 combat veterans in the House of Representatives, from Rep. Barrett O'Hara of Chicago, a decorated veteran of the Spanish-American war, to Rep. John M. Murphy of New York, who won his medals for bravery in Korea. I was with the 37th Infantry in the landings and in the jungle fighting when we drove the Japanese from the Philippines. There is no question in my mind about the nature of war.

And so I would like to say to the young "peacenik" and many others that the "old kooks" in Congress know far more about war than he does, and many have experienced combat and bear the wounds of battle.

We hate war, not from any idle ideological fantasy, but because of personal



It is not love of war that prompts Rep. Bow to demand victory in Viet Nam.

experience in the holocaust and from bitter memories of brothers, fathers, relatives and schoolmates who gave their lives.

No, it is not love of war that prompts us to support our troops in Viet Nam and demand victory there. It is love of our country and the realization that however much we pray and work for peace, there are still forces in the world that will let us live in peace only at the price of our freedom. The young radical probably doesn't deserve the blessings of liberty he enjoys, but millions of youngsters in America today and, we hope, many generations to come, rely upon us now to preserve and defend their heritage. This is what the war is about.

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IRONY—"If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is that if it is comfort or money it values more, it will lose that too."—W. Somerset Maugham

Why I Voted 'No' on Rights Bill

By REP. CHARLES TEAGUE (R.-Calif.)

Rep. Teague voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1966 when the measure was adopted by the House on August 9. This was the first time he had opposed a major civil rights bill during his 12 years in Congress. Below, he details his reasons for this vote.

Throughout the years, our Negro citizens have had some thoroughly justified complaints and it has been with that conviction that I have voted for all major legislation designed to guarantee equality and nondiscrimination in education, employment, voting and the use of public facilities.

However, in spite of my sympathy for, and understanding of, the cause of those who are demanding immediate and complete integration, I could not and did not vote for the Civil Rights Act of 1966.

Among the reasons for my "no" vote were:

1. My belief that there is an important distinction between segregation in schools, and discrimination against persons seeking to vote, get a job, or use public facilities (including hotels and restaurants) on the one hand, and on the other the right of home and apartment owners to sell or rent to whom they please—even though they choose to discriminate because of race, religion, sex, or even against families with children or dogs.

2. Despite the fact that the housing section of the bill was "watered down" in order to attract the necessary votes to assure passage, disturbing features remained. Here are some:

a. No two attorneys, whether they were for or against the bill, seemed to be able to agree on just what the housing section means. Furthermore, the best lawyers in the House are sharply divided on the constitutionality of giving the federal government the

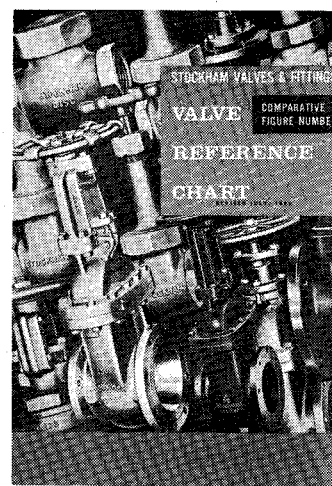
right to forbid discrimination in privately owned houses and apartments. What a boon for the legal profession if this proposal becomes law—because a flood of court cases would certainly ensue!

b. If an applicant for a loan from a bank or building and loan firm even *thinks* he is turned down because of his race, he can complain to a newly created, powerful commission or to the federal courts. All of his legal costs would be borne by the taxpayers, but *not* those of the defendant.

c. Why is it moral and proper to turn down a Negro if you have four rooms or apartments to sell or rent, but immoral and illegal if you have five units to sell or rent? Yet that is exactly what this new proposal would do.

3. Portions of the rest of the bill may have had merit. One of the most important of these turned upon the contention that there are not enough Negroes on juries. However, no federal judge, from any section of the country, in response to inquiries, indicated that our existing system of selecting jurors, in itself, results in unfairness or injustice. It should be remembered, in consideration of this issue as it was debated in the House, that it takes a unanimous verdict to convict in a criminal case. Even if there were only one white man on a jury, that man could block a just verdict if he chose to do so. The exact reverse, of course, is equally true.

The events of this summer had no bearing on my vote, but they do make it clear that Congress cannot cure race prejudice overnight merely by passing laws. I believe that federal guarantees of "open housing" might very well create such public resentment that the objective of abolishing segregation and attaining equality could be set back rather than moved forward.



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